

STUDIES IN THIRD MILLENNIUM HISTORY

By

T. BURTON-BROWN



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By

T. BURTON-BROWN



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PREFACE

It has often been said, or implied in the past, that there was only very limited contact between countries during prehistoric days. Such an opinion I would suggest is mistaken. I would also suggest that history, either of remote or of more recent periods, can never be satisfactorily examined except by being placed on a wider basis than that of nationalism. For these reasons I have written these essays, hoping that they will serve as an introduction to the study of the history of the Third Millennium, as viewed from the standpoint of one who believes that international contact and mutual influence underlie national development. The essays are unavoidably technical, for the reason that an introduction is best confined to the facts on which the study of the history of the period, as a matter on an international basis, is founded. This inevitably means that most of the more interesting developments in Ancient History cannot be discussed here. But I hope that, as time passes, we shall become better equipped for achieving a reconstruction of the early history of the Near East, which shall describe, and put in its proper place, the immense quantity of material evidence which gives to archaeology much of its peculiar interest and charm.

The essays are, except for the last, in substance as they were when they were written (before the outbreak of war), though they have been reduced in length, in order to avoid the rather overpowering effect of an elaborate insistence on detail. I would like to say that if I have omitted to refer to publications which have appeared since 1939, this is not because I have avoided them, but because military duties have not afforded time for proper revision.

T. BURTON BROWN.



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CHAPTER I

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF ANATOLIA AND THE ÆGEAN, 3000—2500 B.C.

The beginning of the Bronze Age in the Ægean marks the beginning of a new era, though it does not witness the introduction of cultural uniformity. Foreign influences must have played their part in the coming of this new era, since metal objects found in the Ægean appear to have been of non-Ægean ores.¹ Perhaps they were imported from Caucasia or Kurdistan,² in which latter area are the copper deposits of Arghana and Tilek.³ Professor Frankfort suggested the Caucasus area⁴ as the source, but Dr. Campbell Thompson did not agree.⁵ It is part of Frankfort's theory that the spread of the knowledge of metallurgy from Caucasia is to be connected with the spread of the pottery fabrics in Mesopotamia called by him the wares of the Uruk period. These, he says, were brought from Anatolia,⁶ which is no doubt possible, but much depends on the interpretation of "Anatolia," in its geographical meaning.

THE BEGINNING OF THE BRONZE AGE

I. GREECE

Dr. Goldman said that there is no reason to think that the first Early Helladic people to come to Greece came "as a large invading force." She believes that they came "as a result of a wave of

¹ The Early Helladic bronze objects from Eutresis and Macedonia all contained some nickel, and as such copper ores as are known from Greece do not contain nickel; it seems possible that the metal from which these objects were made was not mined locally. Goldman, *Eutresis*, page 285, and *B.S.A. Annual*, XXVIII, pp. 195 ff.

² Authorities for the distribution of metal deposits include:—Ebert, *Reallexicon*, XIV, pp. 182 ff; Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*; Wainwright, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XX, pp. 29-32; Crawford, in *Antiquity*, 1938, pp. 79-81.

³ Tin is said to be found in association with copper at Tilek.

⁴ Frankfort, *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem*, page 52.

⁵ Dr. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology*, page 65. ⁶ Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, page 39.

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emigration which started from somewhere in Asia Minor, and spread over the Cyclades, Crete and the mainland."¹ However, there is so little uniformity in the Aegean at this time, and so little parallelism between objects found in the Aegean, and those found in Anatolia, that that opinion does not carry conviction. The characteristic ceramics of Greece at this time are glazed wares, both plain and patterned, which are not paralleled in Anatolia, except at Troy, which is as much an Aegean city as an Anatolian one.² Much of what is often found in the Aegean at this time is, however, paralleled in Kurdistan and Syria, that is to say, in the areas east of the Taurus mountains,³ which are, properly speaking, not Anatolia at all, though perhaps sometimes referred to by that name.

II. CRETE

Cretan neolithic pottery is distinguishable from later wares there, but there is an underlying similarity between neolithic wares and Early Minoan I. Mr. Seager, in fact, suggested that the appearance of Early Minoan I pottery could be due to a second migration to Crete of men of the same type as the neolithic people of Knossos.⁴

There are other possible indications of foreign connections. For example, Evans found a stone vessel, similar to Egyptian vessels and perhaps imported thence, in the strata of sub-neolithic date at Knossos.⁵ In the same levels were found pots resembling in some ways some pottery of First Dynasty date found at Abydos.⁶

A little later, in the Early Minoan II period, there are other objects with foreign parallels. Gold jewellery, for example, is dated to this time, and the Cretan examples⁷ may have Caucasian analogies.⁸ A silver cylinder seal of Mesopotamian type also belongs to this period, and so do a few ivory stamp-seals.⁹ And

¹ Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, pp. 227 ff.

² Childe, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXV, page 205 f.

³ Burton-Brown, in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, XX.

⁴ Seager, *Mochlos*, page 94.

⁵ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, page 65.

⁶ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, page 58.

⁷ Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 43: XIX 23 a-c., and XIX 16 a.

⁸ Frankfurt, *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem*.

⁹ Seager, *Mochlos*, page 108, and figs. 11 (II. 42), 12 (II. 41), and 24 (VI. 26).

pottery similar to the characteristic Vassiliki ware of this period has been found in Turkestan.¹ There is also the "Mochlos saucer" of this time, which has been discussed by Professor Frankfort, and stated to be of eastern Mediterranean origin.² The motifs painted on this vessel include a pair of triangles arranged with apexes touching, and concentric circles. Such designs occur, not very commonly, on incised Early Cycladic pottery, and very commonly on early Cypriote pottery. They are, however, very rare elsewhere on early dark-on-light decorated pottery. At this time also appears light-on-dark ceramic decoration.

III. THE CYCLADES

At Phylakopi the earliest painted ware was contemporary with the incised pottery of "section 4." Shapes of that ware include the pyxis, often with a lid, "duck-vases," animal-shaped vases, ring-shaped vases, side-spouted vessels and beaked jugs. The motifs of the decoration include concentric circles and dots, lozenges, hatched triangles and groups of wavy lines. Mr. Edgar pointed out that this incised ware shows several parallels with the western Anatolian ceramics, but did not add that while many of the details of this ware are not paralleled in Anatolia, they are nearly all found in Cyprus.³

IV. CYPRUS

There are many ceramic parallels between Cyprus and the Aegean, from the beginning of the Bronze Age.⁴ They can be summarised as follows:—

¹ Seager, *Gournia*, page 50, note 12. ² Frankfort, *Studies*, II, pp. 122-123.

³ To take the shapes mentioned here:—

- (1) The pyxis occurs in Cyprus, but not in the shapes found at Phylakopi, which are more or less straight-sided. For Cypriote pyxides see Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, page 114.
- (2) "Duck-vase." For Cypriote examples see Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 114.
- (3) Animal-shaped vases. For Cypriote examples see Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 131.
- (4) Ring-shaped vases. For a Cypriote example see Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 152.
- (5) Side-spouted vessels are very common in Cyprus.
- (6) Beaked jugs. For a Cypriote example see Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 98.

⁴ This is denied by Professor Frankfort who, after stating that the varieties of "wishbone" and other decorative ceramic handles, as known at a very early date in the Aegean area, occur in Cyprus, says, "But Cyprus was so wholly unconnected with the Greek mainland in the period under discussion" (the beginning of the Bronze Age) "that this isolated feature has to be explained as a result of independent development." (*Studies*, II, page 51, note 2.)

A.—POTTERY SHAPES

1. Deep bowl with straight sides: often equipped with horizontal ledge handles with double vertical perforation.¹
2. Jug with vertical neck.²
3. Jug with neck bent backwards, towards the handle,³ (a characteristic Cycladic shape).
4. Side-spouted vessels.⁴
5. Teapot.⁵
6. Amphora.⁶
7. Tripod cooking pot.⁷
8. Handled cup.⁸
9. Jug with tall neck and flaring rim.⁹
10. Funnel.¹⁰
11. Multiform vessel.¹¹
12. Pedestalled cup.¹²
13. Pyxis.¹³
14. Askos.¹⁴
15. Askos in bird form.¹⁵
16. Spoon.¹⁶

¹ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 90: Goldman, *Eutresis*, fig. 132: Blegen, *Zygouries* figs. 85, 101.

² Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 91: Bosanquet and Dawkins, *The unpublished objects from Palaiastro*, fig. 3: Evans, *Knossos*, I, fig. 46: Lamb, *Thermi*, fig. 26.

³ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 98: *Phylakopi*, Plate IV. no. 11 and Plate IX.

⁴ Gjerstad, *Studies*, pp. 90 ff.: Goldman, *Eutresis*, figs. 90-91: Xanthoudides, *The vaulted tombs of Mesara*, Plate XXVI: Evans, *Knossos*, I, fig. 40: *Phylakopi*, Plate IV. no. 13.

⁵ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 110, no. 18: Seager, *Mochlos*, figs. 49, 50: Evans, *Knossos*, I, fig. 46.

⁶ Gjerstad, *Studies*, pp. 92 ff.: Lamb, *Thermi*, figs. 26-29.

⁷ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 101: Lamb, *Thermi*, fig. 26.

⁸ Gjerstad, *Studies*, pp. 96 and 110: Lamb, *Thermi*, fig. 28: *Mesara*, Plate XXVII: Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 23. VI. 6: Evans, *Knossos*, I, fig. 40.

⁹ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 97: *Phylakopi*, Plate VIII. no. 7.

¹⁰ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 101: Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 86 and 95.

¹¹ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 115: Lamb, *Thermi*, Plate XXXVI. no. 366: *Phylakopi*, Plate IV. no. 2.

¹² Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 113: Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 23. VI. 11.

¹³ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 114: Lamb, *Thermi*, figs. 26 and 29.

¹⁴ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 114: Blegen, *Zygouries*, figs. 82, 83: *Palaiastro*, fig. 1.

¹⁵ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 176: *Mesara*, Plate XXVIII.

¹⁶ Gjerstad, *Studies*, page 111: Lamb, *Thermi*, page 159, fig. 45: Blegen, *Zygouries*, figs. 84, 94: Seager, *Mochlos*, fig. 48.

B.—POTTERY DECORATION

I. RELIEF DECORATION

During the earliest part of the Bronze Age in Cyprus it seems that pottery was ornamented by thick ribs or ribbons of clay, both in geometrical and naturalistic designs.¹ Similar decoration is known in Crete, and it seems probable that some Early Helladic ceramic decoration is of the same type.² At about the same time there is found in Greece a type of delicate pottery ornamented with thin raised ribs (the Corinthian A. II. ware)³ which is very closely paralleled in quality of ware and in type of ornament by the Cypriote Base Ring ware.⁴ Similar pottery in South-Eastern Anatolia is known as Cilician B. 4. ware.⁵

2. PAINTED AND INCISED DECORATION

Early in the Bronze Age, if not, as seems possible, at the very beginning of that period, incised decoration, with a very wide repertoire of motifs, is used on pottery. It seems quite likely that red on buff painted decoration is contemporary with this incised decoration. The paint of the decoration of the earliest examples of Cypriote painted pottery is a thick, highly lustrous red paint. As time passes, the paint becomes thinner, and less lustrous. Occasionally, pots are painted in the dark on light style on the upper part, and covered with red slip, or paint, on the remaining surface.⁶ The motifs of both incised and painted wares include triangles and lozenges, plain and hatched, chequers, chevrons, single and concentric circles and semi-circles, crosses, dots and varieties of zig-zags. These motifs, both incised and painted in the dark on light style, are common during the Early Bronze Age in all parts of the Aegean, except on, or near, the

¹ Gjerstad, *Studies*, pp. 94, 106 ff. and 123 ff.

² In Crete such decoration occurs on "sub-neolithic" ware, Xanthoudides, *Mesara*, Plate I. no. 4193.

³ Blegen, *Zygouries*, Plate IX. nos. 2, 3 and 4.

⁴ Gjerstad, *Studies*, pp. 185 ff.

⁵ Burton Brown in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, XX, page 46.

⁶ Gjerstad, *Studies*, pp. 148 ff. It is suggested that "White Painted I Ware" is, in shapes, similar to the earliest classes of Cypriote Bronze Age ceramics, and not, as Professor Gjerstad says "dependent on the Red Polished II and III wares" (page 150).

Anatolian coast, where they are rather rare. What does not occur in the Aegean is the peculiar paint described above, except in the case of the Mochlos saucer, which has been mentioned above.¹

It has been said that, as "pottery very like Early Helladic I wares is found in Cilicia, it is not surprising to find a sudden appearance, in bulk," in Cyprus, of the decorative motifs employed on Early Bronze Age Aegean ceramics. It is obvious that the Cypriote-Aegean parallels are not confined to ceramic decoration. Again, "so close a similarity is not accidental. But the importance of this is that, while shapes in the Aegean are rapidly developed into highly specialised and very beautiful forms, the Cypriote shapes . . . remain unchanged or . . . become steadily coarser and more debased . . . thus Cypriote ware gives the impression of a great inspiration which was not sustained, and suggests that the similarities between Cyprus and the Aegean are due to a common external influence on both areas, rather than to any continued intercommunication."²

It seems reasonable enough to suppose that there was some degree of intercommunication between Cyprus and the Aegean. But this would not have been due to the spreading of mankind from the west or north of Greece, since neither the pottery of those areas nor the distribution of metals would support such a theory. Nor would such a spreading of mankind have been from Iraq or Egypt, for the same reasons.

V. ANATOLIA

There are very few parallels between the Early Bronze Age wares of Anatolia (particularly of central Anatolia) and Early Helladic fabrics.³ Even more significant, perhaps, is the fact that the characteristic styles of decoration of the Early Aegean ceramics are hardly ever paralleled in Anatolia, for such a difference cannot be due to paucity of finds. It may be said that at no time in the early history of Anatolia is patterned decoration anything but very rare: incised decoration appears to be unknown after

¹ It may be noted that mottled ware, and pottery fired partly red and partly black, occur in the Aegean and in Cyprus.

² T. Burton-Brown in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, XX, p. 50.

³ T. Burton-Brown, *loc. cit.*

the beginning of the period of red-slip pottery, while painted decoration, almost completely unknown before the period of Alishar III ware, is confined to dark-on-light geometric decoration. Fluted and ribbed decoration occur not infrequently in Anatolia, but do not find any but the rarest parallels in Cyprus and the Aegean. Aegean glazed ware is not paralleled in Anatolia except at Troy. On the other hand, Anatolian "red-wash" ware is almost certainly to be connected with the partly coated wares of the Aegean, which, however, only date from the later part of the Early Bronze Age. The red polished ware of Anatolia is occasionally very similar in surface and colour to "Red polished I ware" of Cyprus, but appears to be almost completely different in its shapes from any red polished, or any other, ware in Cyprus, or for that matter, in the Aegean.

With such evidence it would be difficult to establish connections between Anatolia, and the Aegean and Cyprus during the earlier half of the third millennium. When red wash ware appears it would not be so difficult, but it would be unreasonable to date that ware before 2500 B.C. Moreover, Anatolian red-wash ware shapes are rare, or unknown, in the Aegean, so even that attempt would not be easy.

THE EVIDENCE OF METAL

Ceramic evidence denies that there can have been any close connection between Anatolia, and the Aegean at the time of the beginning of the Bronze Age. Yet there is the evidence of the composition of the earliest copper and bronze Aegean objects, which appear to be made of metal from the East. The Early Helladic bronze objects from Eutresis were all found to "contain a minimal quantity of nickel, which is here found for the first time in ancient bronzes and which, no doubt, formed a constituent part of the ore from which the copper was extracted. As such copper ores as are known from Greece do not contain nickel, it is probable that the copper was brought from the east."¹

¹ Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 285.

In each of the objects analysed, a small quantity of arsenic was detected.

The Early Bronze Age copper and bronze objects found at Thermi were divided into two groups. Professor Desch said of the first group that the specimens contained nickel, in some cases, "in similar quantities to those found in the Sumerian excavations." Of the second group he said that "arsenic is usually present and in one or two instances in very considerable quantity. This is an interesting point in view of the fact that we are finding so many arsenical coppers in the Mesopotamian deposits."¹

It seems as if one of the earliest sources of metals used by man was probably within reach of both the Aegean and Mesopotamia. Perhaps it was in the hill country east of the Taurus mountains, an area with which the ceramic evidence discussed above would agree. But it is an area about which we know very little as yet, and from which there is very little ceramic material. It could hardly have been in Anatolia itself, for the evidence of pottery does not permit of the suggestion of an Anatolian source.

FURTHER PARALLELS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

I. THE HERRING-BONE STYLE OF ARRANGING BRICKS IN A WALL

This was the characteristic method of laying bricks during the time when plano-convex bricks were used, in Mesopotamia.² This method was used in the Aegean at Thermi (Towns I and IV) Troy I., Eutresis (Early Helladic II period) and Hagios Kosmas in Attica (Early Helladic period).³

II. THE MULTIPLE-VASE TYPE OF VESSEL

There are many examples of this type of vessel from Crete.⁴ This type has been found at Susa,⁵ at about 4 metres above virgin

¹ Professor Desch, in Lamb, *Thermi*, pp. 214-215.

² Delougaz, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation*, no. 7.

³ Lamb, *Thermi*, p. 7; *Troja und Ilion*, I, p. 47, fig. 9; *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII, pp. 9, 260, 261; *Eutresis*, fig. 12.

⁴ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 39, figs. 6, 11a, and Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesará*, Plates III and XXIV, a etc.: *The Excavations at Palaikastro*, p. 152, figs. 135, 136.

⁵ *Délégation en Perse*, Volume XIII, 38, 10.

soil, and in Egypt,¹ at least as early as the time of the first two dynasties, and probably earlier.

III. PALETTES

Rectangular flat stone palettes have been found in Crete,² the Cyclades³ and Thessaly.⁴ Similar palettes in Egypt have been assigned to the pre-dynastic and early dynastic periods.⁵

IV. VASES IN BIRD FORM

This type of vase is of Early Minoan date in Crete.⁶ It is a type common at Susa, and in Egypt at an early date, and also occurs in Syria.⁷

V. VASES IN ANIMAL FORM

This type is of Early Bronze Age date in the Aegean.⁸ It occurs at Susa,⁹ at about 6 metres above virgin soil, and in Egypt,¹⁰ of early dynastic date.

VI. BURIAL CUSTOMS

As Xanthoudides has pointed out¹¹—“Burials in the contracted attitude and burials in coffins or cists of clay or wood have been observed in Egypt from the pre-dynastic age right through to the fifth or sixth dynasties, and both features are

¹ Scharff, *Abusir el Melek*, Tomb 58, c. 4 and Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part I, Plate XXXI, where they are referred to Dynasty 0 (before Menes). See Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, pp. 980 ff. and fig. 940. See also Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Plate XVI, 91, c.

² Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, p. 16, where references are given to other find-spots.

³ Tsountas, *Ερ. Αρχ.* 1898. σελ. 185. πν. 10, αριθ 11, 12, 14, 15: and 1899. σελ. 75 and 100.

⁴ Tsountas, “Δ.Σ.” 330-331 and fig. 257.

⁵ Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, page 38, and *Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*, Plate LIX: Royal Tombs, II, page 38 and Plate XXXVIII: *Abydos*, I, pp. 23, 25 and Plates L and LIII.

⁶ Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, Plate XXVIII, nos. 4121, 4122.

⁷ Frankfort, *Studies*, I, pp. 111 ff.

⁸ Xanthoudides, *Mesara*, page 13 and elsewhere. Also Frankfort, *Studies*, I, Plate IX, 4. Also *Excavations at Phylakopi*, fig. 75 and Plate IV, 7.

⁹ *Délégation en Perse*, Volume XIII, Plate XXXVIII.

¹⁰ Frankfort, *Studies*, I, pp. 111 ff., where many references are conveniently given.

¹¹ Xanthoudides, *Mesara*, pp. 128-129.

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characteristic of Early Minoan burials. For, though proof on this point was not to be got from Mesara tombs owing to the disturbed state of the strata, yet the finding of the clay coffins in the tomb at Pyrgos, and the contracted burials found in other parts of Crete, either in coffins or in pithoi, combine to leave no doubt that this same method of contracted burials was the rule all over Crete, as it was in Egypt. Noteworthy, too, is the resemblance between the Cretan and the Egyptian burial cist."

VII. FAIENCE

Faience occurs in Crete during the Early Minoan age. It has been found in Egypt, dating from the pre-dynastic age.

CONCLUSION

All the evidence at present available indicates that there were close cultural connections between the *Æ*gean and Western Asia—excluding Anatolia—at the time of the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. There are indications that the areas from which there is material of the time available for study, such as the *Æ*gean, Mesopotamia and Egypt, may all have come under a series of influences, perhaps from the hill-country, including the Caucasus, which lies east of the Taurus range.

CHAPTER II

LIGHT-ON-DARK DECORATED POTTERY

Dr. Campbell Thompson discovered at Nineveh some sherds decorated in the light-on-dark style. Somewhat similar fabrics have been found in other places in the Near East. This chapter is concerned with the dating and inter-relationship of these fabrics.

I. NINEVEH

The positions in the tell of the published sherds of light-on-dark ware (fig. 1), and the closely associated dark-on-light ware (which has the same style of decoration) are as follows, one sherd in each place named :—A 25, A 22, B 22, C 22, B 19, C 18, A 16, B 15 H 12, A 12, D 6, B 1.¹ It might not be unreasonable to suggest that the stratification indicates that the sherds at 6 feet below datum upwards are out of their original position.² And it is also not unreasonable to consider that the first appearance of this type of pottery may be dated to the Nineveh IV period.³

The decorative motifs employed on these sherds include spirals, lattices, arcades, birds, wavy lines, concentric circles and dots. The technique is of light coloured paint on a dark glaze ground, as known in Crete, at the time of the Early Minoan II and III periods, when some of the same motifs of decoration appear.

II. TEPE BILLAH

Light-on-dark decorated pottery was found at Tepe Billah, of a type which appears to be somewhat similar to the Nineveh

¹ *Liverpool Annals*, XVIII, Plate XXXIV. The letters indicate squares. See fig. 2 on page 29. The figures indicate feet below datum.

² Two sherds of Nineveh II period pottery were found in square B at 7 and 10 feet below datum (*L.A.A.A.*, XVIII, Plate XXXIII, nos. 18 and 29).

³ See Chapter III for the stratification of the Nineveh IV period.

pottery described above. It has, however, been dated to about 1500 B.C.¹

III. TELL CHAGAR BAZAR

Mr. Mallowan found, at Tell Chagar Bazar, one sherd of a light-on-dark decorated ware, and said of it that it "is especially valuable as it gives us connexions with Tell Nuzi and Tell Billah . . . similar specimens were found at Nuzi with inscribed tablets of c. 1500 B.C., and this unmistakable ware is further proof that the late level I of Chagar Bazar is to be dated somewhere in the middle of the second millennium."² Level I at this site is now dated to 1900-1600.³

IV. TELL ATCHANA

The sherds from Tell Atchana (Plate I) superficially resemble the Nineveh ware, but are different in texture and in some decorative motifs, though the "nipple cup" shape (Plate II, top left) occurs at both sites, as well as at Billah. Sir Arthur Evans said that "the fabric of the group of sherds examined by me was certainly indigenous and, in spite of the strong Minoan influence visible in some cases, no imported Cretan ware was traceable.

"The evidences of Cretan influences, however, are unmistakable.

"The large cups or bowls, of somewhat thin make, shewing white rosettes on a dark ground, which are here exceptionally forthcoming, may certainly be regarded as derivatives of the egg-shell cups . . . that characterise the finest M.M. II a. technique. That exquisite bowls of this class presenting decorative details that point to the Knossian Palace fabric were actually reaching the Syrian coast by the approximate date of 1950 B.C is now demonstrated by the fragment "⁴ found in a Ras Shamra tomb.

V. BRAK

Mr. Mallowan found light-on-dark pottery together with dark-

¹ Speiser, in *The Museum Journal, Philadelphia*, 23, pp. 258-261, and in *The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 41, pp. 19 ff. See also, *The Museum Journal, Philadelphia*, 23, Plate XLVIII.

² Mallowan, *The excavations at Tell Chagar Bazar*, page 51.

³ See Chapter III.

⁴ Sir Arthur Evans in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LVI, page 135.



Fig. I
LIGHT-ON-DARK POTTERY FOUND AT NINEVEH

on-light ware of the same decorative style at Brak.¹ This has not yet been fully published.

VI. MALATIA

At Malatia several sherds were found of a fabric (A.I. ware, Plate I) which has been described as having "close parallels with Aegean 'patterned Urfirnis.' The designs of fringed lines, bands of short diagonal strokes and system of 'reserve' painting are as well known in the Aegean as in the East. Other details . . . are paralleled in Early Minoan III, and Troy II 2. ware."² The sherds were found at less than ten feet above the level of the surrounding country, at "Arslan Tepe," by the present writer.

VII. ASHUR

The pottery from Ashur (Plates II and III) is closely akin to the Nuzi light-on-dark ware. It is dated by its discoverer, Professor Andrae (in conversation), to the second millennium. A few sherds only of this ware have previously been published.³

VIII. DJIGAN

There was in the Louvre, before 1939, a nipple cup decorated in the light-on-dark style from this site, which is near Nineveh.⁴

IX. NUZI

Professor Speiser found at Nuzi some light-on-dark pottery similar⁵ to that found at Billah. Dr. Starr said that in this ware there is a "marked tendency toward geometrical patterns" and "the extreme conventionalization of all the designs points to a tradition long established and fully developed."⁶ He also points out that "animals are used in a number of designs, and are pre-

¹ *Illustrated London News*, Jan. 15th, 1938, page 92, and Oct. 15th, 1938, pp. 668-669.

² T. Burton-Brown in *L.A.A.A.*, XX, pp. 60 and 61.

³ Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*, Plate LXXXIV.

⁴ M. Dussaud in *Syria*, XII, pp. 299-302 and fig. 1.

⁵ Speiser in *The Museum Journal*, Philadelphia, 23, pp. 273, 274 and Starr, *Nuzi*.

⁶ Starr, *Nuzi*, pp. 396 ff.

From Malatia

From Atchana

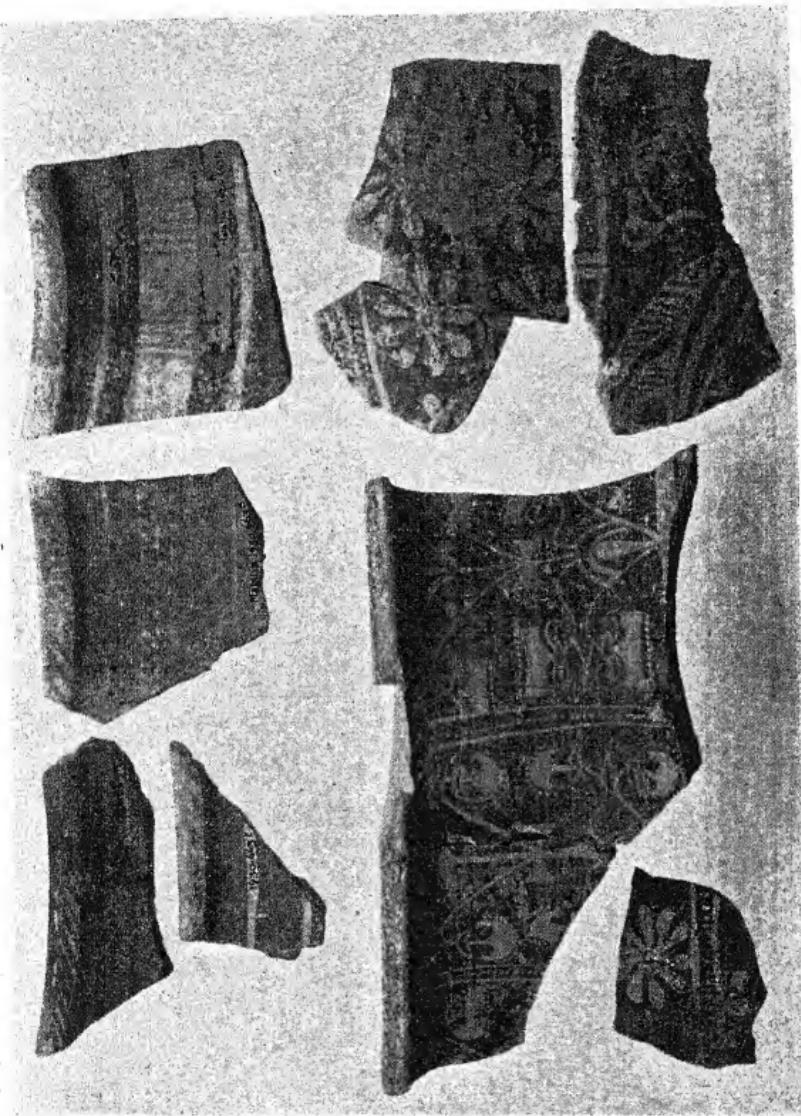




PLATE II

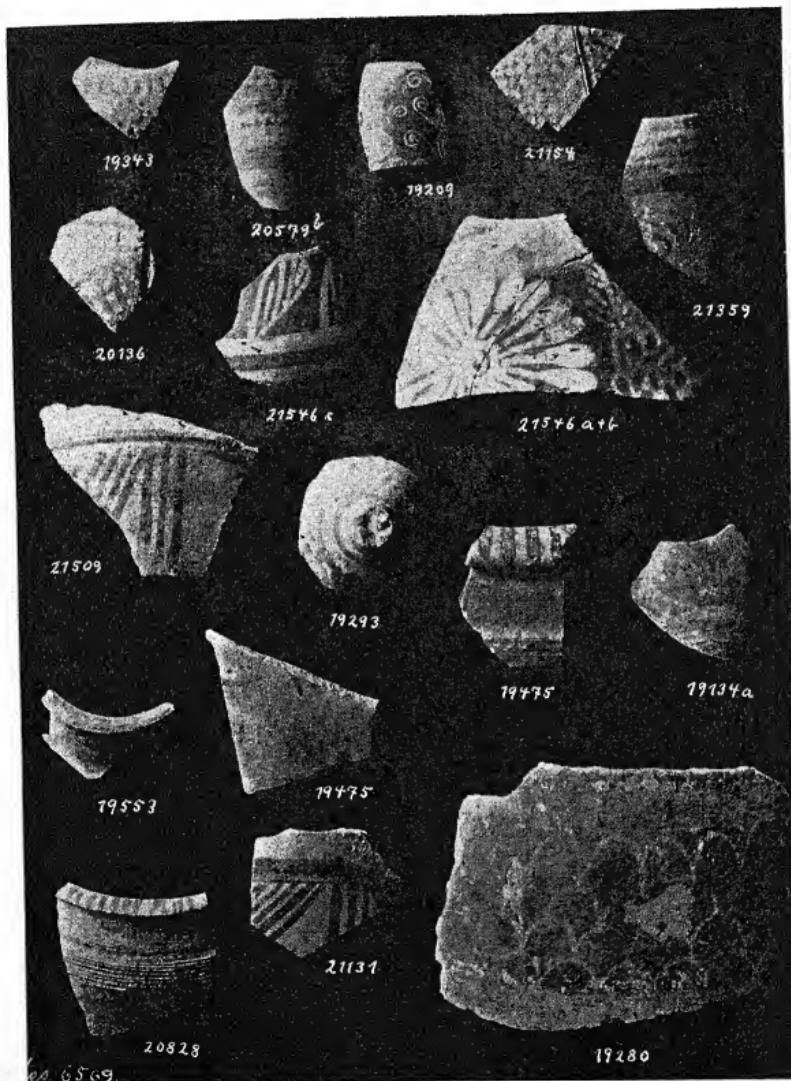


PLATE III

sented in a strange mixture of realism and conventionalization," and mentions the parallelism with Minoan art in this way.

There seems to be little doubt that this ware is to be dated to about 1500 B.C.¹

X. URUK

A single sherd in the dark-on-light style in glaze paint was found at Uruk in levels XI-X. It is number 9462, and is unpublished. (It was, before 1939, with the rest of the Uruk material in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin.)

XI. GEZER

The red-on-white ware from Gezer² has not been described very fully. One sherd found is decorated in a way that recalls that of a cup of Early Minoan III date from Palaikastro.³

XII. MEGIDDO

Some pots in the light-on-dark style were found in tombs stated to be of Twelfth Dynasty date.⁴ The excavators said that similar pottery had been found by M. le Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, who illustrated sherds from a tell near Aleppo.⁵ It is not clear whether these latter are decorated in light-on-dark technique, or in "reserve" decoration.

XIII. EGYPT

At Lisht there was found a small jug, which Mace described as "distinctly new in type, and must either be a foreign importation or have been made under foreign influence." It is painted in "dark red outlined in white." In the same pit there were a number of black incised vases of the Kahun type.⁶

¹ Sidney Smith in *Antiquity*, 1938, pp. 426-428. See also *Alalakh and Chronology*.

² Macalister, *The excavation of Gezer*, II, Plate CLVII, nos. 8 and 11.

³ British School at Athens; Supplementary paper no. 1, "The unpublished objects from the Palaikastro excavations," fig. 5 a.

⁴ Engberg and Shipton, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery of Megiddo*, page 69, fig. 19 D-K.

⁵ Du Buisson in *Syria*, XIII, Plate XXXVI.

⁶ Mace in the *Bulletin of the New York Metropolitan Museum*, Part II, Nov., 1921, pp. 17-18 and fig. 18.

At Kahun, a town inhabited during the twelfth dynasty, some sherds of light-on-dark pottery were found.¹ One of these has been supposed to have been made in Anatolia. Others may well have been made in Crete. At the same place vessels of "punctured ware" and "Syrian type" jugs were found. These classes² appear to be characteristic of the Eastern Mediterranean area soon after the beginning of the second millennium.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE DISCUSSED ABOVE

Many of the wares discussed above are of more or less the same type. They are decorated in a particular style, and often made in the otherwise unusual shape of the nipple cup. However, the evidence for dating is conflicting. At Nineveh, for example, the light-on-dark ware is stratified below Nineveh V ware. Yet at Tepe Billah it is said to be stratified above Nineveh V ware. There is evidence to indicate that similar pottery was in use in Egypt early in the second millennium. Light-on-dark ware might, however, have first been made in Western Asia during the third millennium, as is suggested by evidence from the Aegean, as well as from Nineveh and, perhaps, Malatia.

LIGHT-ON-DARK WARE IN THE AEgeAN

Light-on-dark ware appears in the Aegean area at about the middle of the third millennium. Dr. Goldman pointed out that, from the point of view of Greece, there was at that time, "intensified intercourse with north-western Anatolia, one stage of which is represented by Macedonia and another by the abundant finds of white-painted ware at the settlement of Hagia Marina."³ But it is difficult to agree with the suggestion that light-on-dark decorated pottery in the Aegean area is of Anatolian origin, though it is certainly likely to be a foreign ware, when found in the Aegean. For if it were of Anatolian origin, there should be

¹ Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Plate I, no. 1 and Forsdyke, *Catalogue of vases in the British Museum*, I, Part I, fig. 115.

² Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Plate I, nos. 16-22... "Punctured ware" ("Tell-el-Yahudiye ware") is best described by H. Junker: "Der nubische Ursprung der sogenannten Tel el-Jahudiye Vasen." (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1921.)

³ Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 229-230.

evidence of the presence of similar ware in Anatolia. Actually what is found in Anatolia of similar type is light-on-dark decorated ware with the simplest of skeuomorphic decoration, but only in the Aegean coastal area, the culture of which is likely to be as much of Aegean as of Anatolian origin. Further, the techniques are different, for in Anatolia the decoration is made by the application of paint to the clay surface, not to a dark glaze. Thus it may be that the light-on-dark Aegean ceramics are not of Anatolian origin. Similarly, Early Minoan II and III light-on-dark wares might not derive from Anatolia. M. Sotiriadis felt "convinced" that the light-on-dark wares of Hagia Marina closely resembled Early Minoan III wares,¹ and, Blegen said that "the possibility of indirect Cretan influence on the light-on-dark patterned ware though by no means a certainty, must, however, be recognised."²

At about this time, as has been shewn elsewhere, Early Anatolian II ware was the characteristic pottery in Anatolia.³ This ware has been the subject of considerable misunderstanding in the past, but there can be little doubt now as regards its date. We are, in fact, "safe in supposing that" Early Anatolian II ware "extended many centuries before 1950, perhaps as far back as 2300 B.C."⁴ The men who made this pottery did not reach the Aegean, to any great extent, and Dr. Lamb has said that the "isolation" of Kusura in Pisidia from the Aegean "is emphasised by the absence of many variations and of certain fundamental types of vase which were part of the western potter's repertory."⁵ Dr. Lamb compares some vessels from her period C.⁶ "covered with a paint or glaze paint" with the "silvery micaceous brown of

¹ Sotiriadis, in *Revue des études Grecques*, XXV, page 281.

² Blegen, *Korakou*, page 113.

³ T. Burton Brown in *L.A.A.A.*, XX.

⁴ Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and vicinity*, page 17. See also *The Alishar Huyuk, 1930-1932*, Part II, page 205 and fig. 246.

⁵ Lamb in *Archæologia*, LXXXVI, page 23.

⁶ In the strata of period C, red wash ware and glass occur. Both of these are known in Troy II 2, as well as in the east, and suggest that the date of period C is not as late as Dr. Lamb has proposed. Dr. Lamb also suggests that the goblets of period C are only accidentally similar to the vessels she quotes from Nineveh and Kish. But what is against their direct relationship? They could easily belong to the same period, and in all those places they represent wares which are probably of foreign imported designs. Moreover, another type of pedestal vessel at Kish is certainly closely paralleled in the Aegean at the time of Middle Minoan I. (Compare *Palace of Minos*, I, fig. 133 e with Mackay, *Field Museum Memoirs*, no. 2, Plate L, no. 2.)

Alishar II," and mentions indications of continuity between her B and C periods at Kusura.

Apart from such comparatively unimportant influences as may be observed from Anatolia, the Aegean received other, and very considerable influences, after about 2500. These influences are indicated by the appearance in the Aegean, of light-on-dark ware¹, and a variety of seals, which have analogies in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. These include "button seals," conoid seals and animal-shaped seals. Similar designs to those used on these seals in Crete occur in the east, while yet another parallel is in the use of amulets in the form of arms and legs.² There is no evidence in Anatolia to suggest that such things could have come from there. If they did not, it would appear that they must have come from further east by sea, for they are not known west or north of the Aegean. If that happened, the effects of westward travel would surely be perceptible in the Cyclades, and in fact this does seem to occur. For, at Phylakopi, in the ware of section 6,³ there are some pots of about this period, which are similar to pots found in Cyprus.⁴ In Cyprus itself the "red-on-black" ware appears, and it is possible that this fabric could be

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 103-126. Evans suggested that this style of decoration was due to a revival of the neolithic manner of decorating pottery, which gave the effect of light-on-dark patterning. However, most of the designs used on Early Minoan III ware are unparalleled on neolithic ware. Dr. MacKenzie said that it was unnecessary to call in "foreign influence" to account for phenomena which could have developed from the neolithic civilisation of Crete itself. (*B.S.A.*, XII, page 225.) That is all very well, but Cretan neolithic pottery is closely paralleled in Syria (*L.A.A.A.*, X, Plate IX, 2) and in Anatolia (sherds in the British School of Archaeology at Athens). Cretan neolithic pottery could easily be of non-Cretan origin.

There are several parallels between the motifs of decoration of light-on-dark pottery in the Aegean and western Asia, as for example in such designs as—quadrupeds, birds, fish, pot-hook spirals, running spirals, the guilloche, a circle with a ring of dots round it and concentric half-circles. (Compare *The Museum Journal*, Philadelphia, 23, with *Palace of Minos*, I, *The unpublished objects from the Palaikastro Excavations and Gournia*.)

² These parallels afforded by seals and amulets have been frequently pointed out in the past. See particularly Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, and *The Hagios Onuphrios Deposit* for Crete; Petrie, *Button and Design Scarabs*, and Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, for Egypt; and Delaurope, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux*, of the Louvre, for Asia. For the examples from Greece see Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 189 and 214, and the *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1923-1924, pp. 162 ff. and Persson, *Asine*.

³ Edgar, in *Phylakopi*, pp. 93 ff.

⁴ Compare *Phylakopi*, Plate IX and *B.S.A.*, XVII, Plate V with Gjerstad, *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus*, page 98; and *Phylakopi*, Plate VIII, 7, with Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 107. See also Edgar, in *Phylakopi*, page 100.

related to the red and white on black ware of the Early Minoan III period.¹ Another piece of evidence from the Cyclades is given by a tablet found on Kythera, which is written in cuneiform,² and may date from the end of the third millennium.

* * * * *

The number of parallels between objects found in the Aegean at about 2500, and in various places in Western Asia is striking, and so varied that they are hardly likely to be accidental. If they do indicate a connection between the two areas it seems unlikely that that would be due to any movement of mankind from west to east, but it might well be due to a movement in the opposite direction. Such a movement from the east would give a reason for the appearance of light-on-dark ware in the Aegean, and the date of not after 2500 for an early use of the technique in Western Asia. This would agree with the date suggested by other evidence for the close of the Nineveh IV period. All this would imply that light-on-dark ware was made in Western Asia for about the same period as that during which it was made in Crete.

CONCLUSION

Light-on-dark decorated pottery was made during the later part of the third millennium, in the north of Iraq. At that epoch men travelled to the Aegean from Western Asia, taking with them, amongst other things, the technique of light-on-dark ceramic decoration. Later, during the second millennium, further movements of men brought the use of light-on-dark ware from the same source to Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt.

¹ Gjerstad describes this ware as having "very thin walls and extraordinarily fine and exquisite modelling, which imparts to it a special delicacy and gracefulness" (*Studies on prehistoric Cyprus*, page 179). That remark might serve as a description of the Early Minoan III and Middle Minoan I pottery.

² *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIX, pp. 137-138.

CHAPTER III

SOME REMARKS ON THE DATING OF THE NINEVEH IV PERIOD

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss some opinions which have been expressed on the subject of the chronology of ancient Nineveh.

* * * *

The excavation at Nineveh conducted by Dr. Campbell Thompson has proved to be the source of most important material.

A sketch plan of part of the site excavated by him is illustrated in fig. 2. The area shewn is divided by dotted lines into squares of 50 feet each way. Squares A—H inclusive were excavated in 1929-1930. In a later season, the following stratification scheme was put forward by Mr. Mallowan :—

Feet below datum.			Name of period.
Below 75	-	-	Nineveh I.
75 - 73	-	-	„ IIa.
73 - 70	-	-	„ IIb.
70 - 58	-	-	„ IIc.
58 - 34	-	-	„ III.
34 - 18	-	-	„ IV.
18 - 9	-	-	„ V.

It has been suggested that the strata of squares A to H were very much disturbed, but this is possibly not correct, as is shewn below.

On the edge of square A at Nineveh there was found a series of brick tombs with high vaults.¹ The level of the bottom course of brickwork was 24½ feet below datum. Some 40 to 70 feet horizontally from these tombs was a considerable quantity

¹ *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, XIX, pp. 78-80 and Plate XLVIII, nos. 2 and 3. These tombs are built with vaults of voussoirs. There are some similarly built tombs at Ur, for which see Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, pp. 232-237.

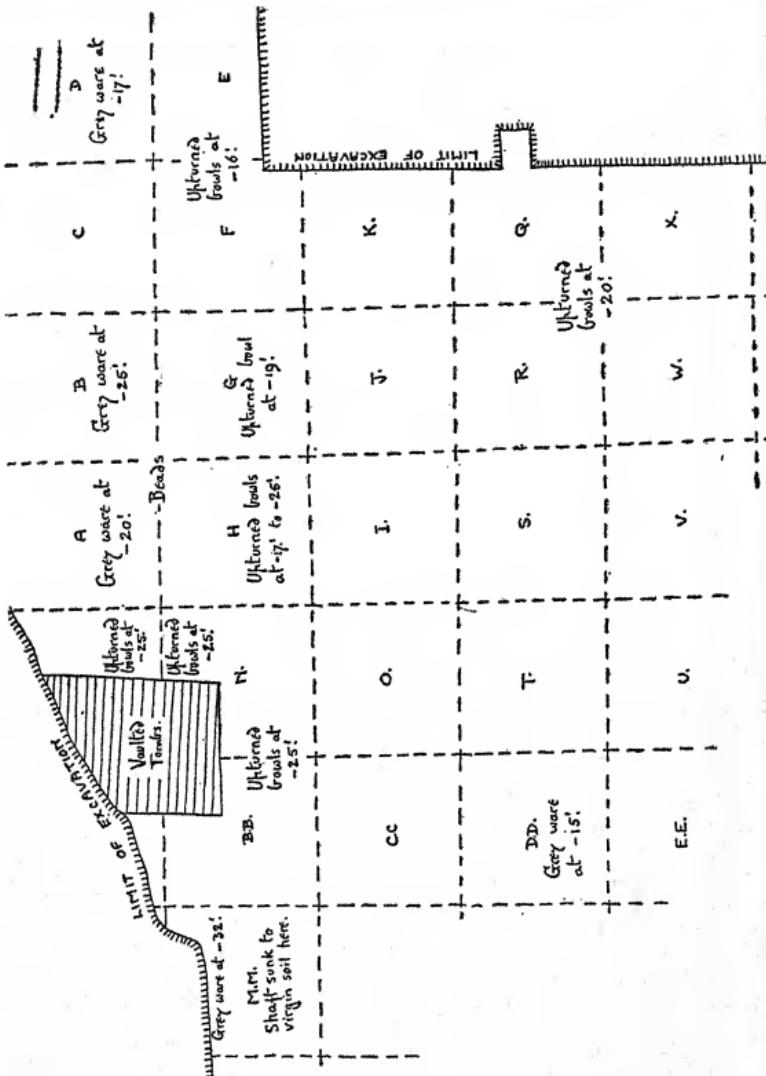


Fig. 2

The squares measure about fifty feet each way.

SKETCH PLAN OF PART OF THE AREA EXCAVATED BY DR. CAMPBELL THOMPSON AT NINEVEH

of beads¹, which might have been robbed from the tombs in antiquity, as Dr. Campbell Thompson suggested. The beads lay in squares A, B, G, and H, and included several rare varieties used in Egypt during the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.² There were, with them, some amulets and a figurine of a Sumerian made of lapis-lazuli.³ Above the beads were found sherds of grey pottery, described by Mr. Hutchinson as "identical with . . . grey Minyan . . . ware."⁴

Mr. Hutchinson reconstructed the stratification of squares A to H as follows:—

- (1) He proposed the date of 3500–2500 for the pottery found in G and H at 25–17 feet below datum.
- (2) He dated to about 2500 the pottery found in G and H at 17–10 feet below datum.
- (3) He dated to about 1500 the pottery found in A and B at 25–15 feet below datum.

This is questionable, for the following reasons. Squares A and H adjoin each other, and in both square H, and on the edge of square A, and close to the edge of square H (see plan) bowls with bevelled rims (fig. 4) occurred at about 25 feet below datum,⁵ though they were also found as high as 17 feet below datum in square H. Further, Nineveh V ware is found all over the site, including the squares under discussion, from about 18 feet below datum, while there is no internal evidence to suggest that the fabrics of about 20 feet below datum in squares A and B can be dated to 1500.

The stratification of Nineveh V ware, the grey ware (see plan, fig. 2) and the bevelled rim bowls indicate that the strata of squares A and B are in essentials parallel with the strata of the

¹ H. C. Beck in *Antiquity*, V, pp. 427–437.

² Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 74. The very unusual type of the "crumb" bead occurs in both areas, the earliest examples in Egypt being:—one bead dated to the first dynasty (Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 16) and several to the fourth dynasty (Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Plate CIV).

³ *Liverpool Annals*, XVIII, Plate XXV, no. 12. Lapis may be from Afghanistan, according to Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials*).

⁴ *Liverpool Annals*, XVIII, page 109.

⁵ *Liverpool Annals* XVIII, Plate XXXV, no. 16 and Vol. XIX, Plate LXI, no. 26. These bowls are discussed in Appendix A to this chapter. They are referred to as "upturned bowls" on fig. 2.

remainder of the tell that has been excavated. In view of this, the system of stratification suggested by Mr. Mallowan (quoted on page 28), and not that suggested by Mr. Hutchinson, can be safely accepted for this part of the tell, as elsewhere.

The similarities between the pottery fabrics of the Nineveh IV period, and of other sites in Western Asia have been discussed elsewhere.¹ In this chapter attention is drawn mainly to other material, of the date of that period. But it must be recalled that the subsequent period of Nineveh V has been dated by Professor Speiser, Mr. Mallowan and Mr. Hamilton to about 3000, on the assumption that the ware of that period is similar to al Ubaid ware. Since, however, this assumption is only based on a general similarity of style, it requires corroboration. In this place it is suggested that that date is too early, and that the Nineveh V period should be dated as having begun at about 2500 B.C.

Mr. Beck has pointed to parallels between beads found in the bead layer at Nineveh, and beads found in the Royal Tombs at Ur.² There are, however, other parallels for these Nineveh beads, with beads found in Egypt, which Mr. Beck did not quote. These parallels include the following:—

I. PARALLELS BETWEEN BEADS FOUND AT NINEVEH AND BEADS FOUND AT UR

- (a) Faience gadrooned beads (melon-shaped) occur at Nineveh (fig. 3.J) and in the Royal Tombs at Ur.
- (b) The green-blue to white faience, of which some Nineveh beads are made, is a fabric similar to that of which the rare blue faience beads of the Royal tombs of Ur are made.

II. PARALLELS BETWEEN BEADS FOUND AT NINEVEH AND BEADS OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM IN EGYPT

- (a) Three different kinds of pendant bead (fig. 3, E. F. G.) occur in Nineveh and in Egypt.³

¹ See Chapters II and IV.

² Beck in *Antiquity*, V, pp. 427-437.

³ Beck, *loc. cit.*, nos. 27, 28 and 29 for Nineveh, and Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Plate CIV, P. 3, and Plate CIII D.6, and Plate CIV K.15, for Egypt.

- (b) "Crumb" beads (fig. 3, H.) occur in both areas.¹
- (c) Melon-shaped beads (fig. 3, J.) occur in both areas.²
- (d) Cog-shaped beads (fig. 3, K.) occur in both places.³
- (e) "Fancy-cylinder" beads (fig. 3, L.) occur in both areas.⁴
- (f) A black and white glass "eye-bead" (fig. 3, M.) was found at Nineveh. This is paralleled, to some extent, by a bead found at Qau, in Egypt.⁵
- (g) Amulets in animal-form are also found in both areas.⁶

Mr. Beck has expressed the opinion that similarity of bead-type suggests a similarity of date for the deposits in which those types occur. This form of evidence may, however, hardly be sufficient in itself to indicate any certain connection. But similarity of beads is not the only thing to suggest that the Nineveh IV period culture is paralleled in Egypt. Glass occurs in both areas,⁷ and as this is both rare, and a peculiar type of product, it deserves examination.

GLASS FROM NINEVEH

A piece of glass from Nineveh has been referred to above. It was found in the Nineveh IV strata, and although its antiquity has been questioned by Mr. Beck, may well belong to that period, since two other pieces of glass have also been found in those strata. Mr. Beck has said of them that "they are both from 22 feet below the datum line. At this depth inclusions from a later period are not very probable but they may occur. One is a spherical glass bead . . . specific gravity is 2.48 . . . the

¹ Beck, *loc. cit.*, nos. 12 and 13 for Nineveh, and Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate CIV, 94, for Egypt.

² Beck, *loc. cit.*, no. 15 for Nineveh, and Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate CII, 84, for Egypt.

³ Beck, *loc. cit.*, no. 55, for Nineveh, and Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate XCIVIII G.3, for Egypt.

⁴ Beck, *loc. cit.*, no. 57, for Nineveh, and Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate C 76, for Egypt.

⁵ Beck, *loc. cit.*, no. 52, for Nineveh, and Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate CII, no. 84 K.3, for Egypt.

⁶ Beck, *loc. cit.*, nos. 39 and 40, for Nineveh, and Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate XCIV R.15, for Egypt.

⁷ Six objects of glass were found at Troy, between 26 and 33 feet below datum (Schliemann, *Ilios*, pp. 429-430). Schmidt (Schliemann Sammlung, page 287) and Dörpfeld (*Troja und Ilion*, I, p. 399) failed to realise their importance, or to appreciate the stratification.

second specimen . . . is a hexagonal cylindrical bead . . . specific gravity of 3.50, and is therefore a lead glass with a very



E



F



G



H



J



K



L



M

Fig. 3
SOME BEADS FOUND AT NINEVEH

considerable amount of lead . . . it seems to me most improbable that these beads can be as early as stated. There are, however, a number of isolated bits of evidence accumulating which, if they

34 STUDIES IN THIRD MILLENNIUM HISTORY

can be proved, may necessitate our entirely readjusting our ideas as to the date of early glass."¹

THIRD MILLENNIUM GLASS FROM EGYPT

Mr. Brunton has published the details of some glass beads which he found at Qau. These date from between the sixth and the eleventh dynasties. He says of them that "it will be noticed that there is never more than one in a grave, and they were obviously of great rarity. One of the Eleventh Dynasty princesses, found by Winlock at Deir-el-Bahri, had a necklace of blue glass spheroid beads."²

Another piece of glass from Egypt was found in a tomb of the tenth dynasty by Petrie.³

* * * *

Glass beads occur, therefore, in the Nineveh IV strata, and in Egypt between about 2500 and 2200 B.C. These parallels are roughly contemporary with the parallels already noted between the Nineveh IV and Egyptian beads,⁴ and may suggest that the highest of the Nineveh IV strata should not be dated before 2500 B.C.

One result of this is that the Nineveh V period should not be dated earlier than about 2500 B.C. As has already been hinted, there is little real reason to assume, as has been done in the past, that Nineveh V painted ware is similar to, and therefore contemporary with, al Ubaid ware. But another ware of the Nineveh V period has also been dated to near 3000 B.C. This is the incised grey ware of that epoch, which has also been found at Tell Chagar Bazar. Mr. Mallowan has said of this ware that, at Nineveh, "its associations pointed to a date between 3000 and 2700, but at T. Billah and Tepe Gawra it has been found in contexts still

¹ Beck, in *Liverpool Annals*, XX, pp. 180-181.

² Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, page 21. See also Beck in *Qau and Badari*, II, page 25. The Deir el Bahri beads are published in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, N. Y., Egyptian Expedition, II (1921), page 52.

³ Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, I, page 6. Lucas, in *Ancient Egyptian materials*, (page 115) says that two Uzat eyes of glass were found in this tomb. In the same place Lucas gives a list of early glass from Egypt, including the examples of pre-dynastic and first dynasty date.

⁴ Apart from rare exceptions, these parallels fall into the periods of the Old Kingdom and the earlier part of the first intermediate period.

earlier . . . it seems to me probable that it disappeared shortly before the Sargonid period." As regards the dating, 3000-2700 for this ware at Nineveh,¹ he referred to an "incised vase of the en creux technique from Yarimjah" which is "exactly similar in shape to a specimen from a tomb group of Tepe Ali Abad"² which "comes from a necropolis which contained a number of alabaster vases almost identical in type with specimens from the Royal Cemetery at Ur . . . we need have very little hesitation in saying that the Tepe Ali Abad group belongs to a time, before the beginning of the Third Millennium B.C. Here, then, is a definite indication that the incised wares of Nineveh V are likely to belong to the beginning of the Third Millennium B.C."

It is very doubtful if the evidence given above is sufficient to date Nineveh V ware.

To return to the site of Chagar Bazar. In *Iraq*, Vol. 4, Mr. Mallowan said that "the early limit of level I is now defined by the discovery of a number of cuneiform tablets, all of which occur consistently at the bottom of stratum I, and these are assigned by Mr. Sidney Smith to the First Dynasty of Babylon, giving us a *terminus a quo* which may be about 2000 B.C. . . . it therefore seems probable that the three and a half metres of occupational debris included in level I falls approximately between 1900 and 1600 B.C." A little later in the same book Mr. Mallowan defines the dates of some of his levels as follows:—

Level I	-	-	about 1900 to 1600 B.C.
Levels II-III	-	-	," 2900 to 2300 B.C.
Levels IV-V	-	-	," 3200 to 2900 B.C.

This indicates that the site was not occupied for 400 years, ending at about 1900 B.C. No evidence is, however, offered by Mr. Mallowan, or indicated by the site, for this (alleged) occurrence.

According to Mr. Mallowan, the 3½ metres of level I were formed during 300 years, while the 6.10 metres of levels II, III, IV and V inclusive were formed during either 1300 years, or 900

¹ *L.A.A.A.*, XX, page 174.

² The Tepe Ali Abad vessel to which Mr. Mallowan refers belongs to a type of pottery in Mesopotamia called the "grey-black incised" ware. This ware is described in appendix B. It is different in almost every way, including style of decoration, from the incised grey ware of the Nineveh V. period. The two wares are never found together.

years, if the site really was deserted for 400 years. But why should it be suggested that debris was deposited at such very varying rates?

There is no great reason to doubt that Mr. Mallowan may be right in supposing that the 3½ metres of level I were laid down between 1900 and 1600, and this dating will be accepted. But his other calculations may not be entirely acceptable. If they be rejected, and the same rate of deposit be supposed to hold good for the earlier levels, as for level I, then level V, in which Nineveh V ware occurred, could be dated to about 2500 B.C.

SUMMARY

The material discussed above suggests the following conclusions:—

- (a) the Nineveh IV period may be dated as having ended at about 2500 B.C.
- (b) the Nineveh V period should not be dated before about 2500 B.C.

APPENDIX A

BEVELLED RIM BOWLS

Bevelled rim bowls (fig. 4) have been found at Carchemish (British Museum Carchemish book, folios 35, 37 and 39 and photo. 24), Ur (Woolley, *The Antiquaries Journal*, 1930, pp. 331–332), Susa (*Délégation en Perse*, I, page 84, nos. 118 and 121 and page 75, no. 91), Tepe Moussian (a bowl, unpublished, was in the Louvre before the war), Uruk (in Stratum XII), Jemdet Nasr (Mackay, *Excavations at Jemdet Nasr*, pp. 249–250), and at Abu Shahrein (*Archæologia*, LXX, fig. 3, no. 4, and fig. 4, no. 10 and page 111).

Similar bowls have been found in Egypt, almost all dated to the period between the first and sixth dynasties, inclusive. Some references are:—

Petrie, *The royal tombs of the first dynasty*, I, Plate XLIII, nos. 149, 150.

Emery, *The tomb of Hemaka*, Plate 27, no. 17.

Reisner, *Naga-ed-der*, Part III, page 84, fig. 36 “Pottery type XXIX.”

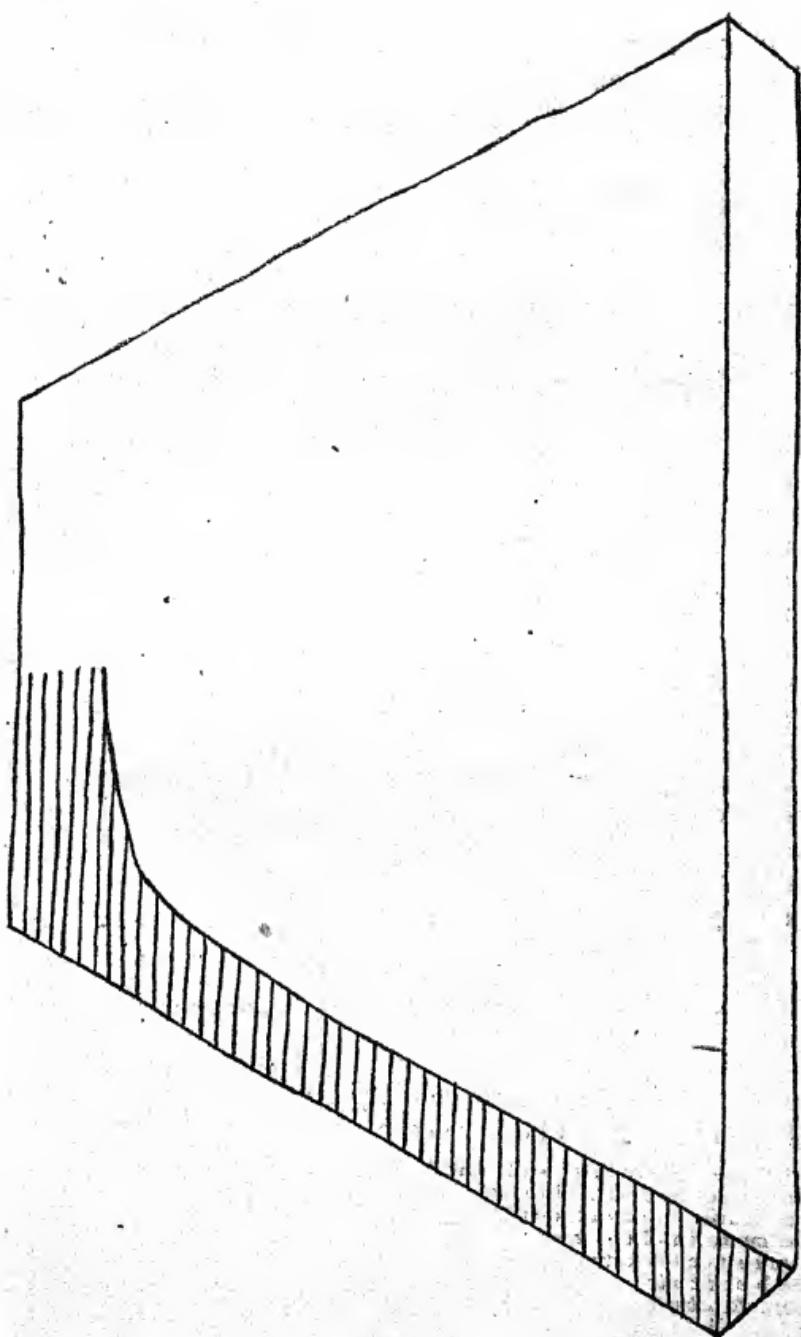


Fig. 4
BEVELLED RIM BOWL

38. STUDIES IN THIRD MILLENNIUM HISTORY

Garstang, *The third Egyptian Dynasty*, Plate 13, no. 3, and Plate 31.

Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XLIII, tombs 1085 and 904, and Vol. II, Plate LXXVI, 6 E. 6 F. 6 G. and 6 P. (See fig. 8 A of this book).

There can be no doubt that bevelled rim bowls were introduced into Egypt at about the time of the beginning of the Dynastic period. They were used commonly until the time of the sixth dynasty, and occasionally during the time of the first intermediate period.

The quality of the bowls does not suggest that they were intended for domestic use. Perhaps they served some ritual use.¹ If so, it seems possible that they were the product of one particular type of man, and may indicate some relationship between the early dynastic Egyptians, and some people known in Mesopotamia at a period as yet undefined. It is interesting, *apropos* this possibility, to observe that the introduction of these bowls is contemporary with the introduction to Egypt of cylinder seals, the "recessed panel" architectural style and pear shaped mace-heads, all long-lived in Asia, though ephemeral in Egypt. Further, it was at this time that the introduction of writing to Egypt occurred, a thing often compared with the introduction of writing to Mesopotamia, since both were pictographic. In all these things may, perhaps, be seen the result of Asiatic influence on Egypt.

APPENDIX B

THE "GREY-BLACK INCISED" WARE OF MESOPOTAMIA

The "grey-black incised" pottery of Mesopotamia has been studied by various experts, notably by M. le Dr. Contenau² and M. Léon Heuzey,³ who have concluded that the evidence of the

¹ Reisner said of these bowls that "it is only to be expected that an extremely cheap and temporary piece, serving undoubtedly some old traditional purpose (as a carrier of *ta* bread) would continue to be found as a hand-made pot long after the invention of the wheel" (*Naga-ed-Der*, Part I, page 98). Reisner does not comment on the feature of the bevelled rim, which is not found before the date of a tomb at Abusir which is probably of about the end of the predynastic period. (Scharff, *Abusir el Melek* tomb no. 58 c.4.)

² Dr. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, II, pages 795-796.

³ Heuzey, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 6, page 63.

objects associated with this ware seem to indicate a date for that pottery of about 2300 B.C., and the subsequent two or three centuries. But these "associated objects" are exclusively objects from Susa¹ and Tello² only. There are, however, chronological indications provided by other material. For example, the vessel from Tepe Ali Abad³ already referred to above (page 35) was found in a cemetery in which there were discovered several examples of polychrome pottery in the Susa II style.⁴ This Susa II pottery may well be of the later part of the Third Millennium.⁵ Again, many of the examples of the grey-black incised pottery are decorated with rows of white filled dots forming the designs. These examples include the Tepe Ali Abad vase already mentioned, two grey pots found at Kish (perhaps in the "A" Mound),⁶ two vessels found by Banks at Bismya,⁷ and a vessel (only a sherd exists) found in the 1853 excavations at Ur.⁸ (One Bismya and one Kish vessel have incised concentric circles and concentric squares for decoration). Although, unfortunately, none of these pieces can be dated with any assurance, except in so far as they, and the other pieces of incised grey-black pottery from Mesopotamia⁹ are, comparatively speaking, so rare, and yet so like each other as, presumably, to represent a ware not very long-lived, still they might be connected with another ware decorated in much the same way. This is the black incised ware, decorated in the same style, known in Cyprus, the Palestinian coast and

¹ M. de Mecquenem, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 21 (1924), page 111, fig. 3. *Délégation en Perse*, Vol. I, page 135, fig. 337. *Délégation en Perse*, Vol. VIII, page 98.

² Heuzey, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 6, pp. 59 ff., and Plate III. Heuzey, in *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, pp. 35 ff., 127-128 and note 2, and *passim*. M. de Genouillac, *Fouilles de Telloh*, II, pp. 108-109 and Photographic Plate 110, nos. 1-4 and Plate D.

³ *Délégation en Perse*, VIII, page 142, fig. 287.

⁴ Frankfort and Mallowan both refer to this polychrome pottery (for which see Gautier and Lampre in *Délégation en Perse*, VIII) as contemporary with Jemdet Nasr ware.

⁵ See Chapter IV, page 50.

⁶ E. Mackay, *Field Museum of natural History, Anthropology Memoirs*, I. Plate XIV, no. 6, and Plate LII, no. 9.

⁷ Banks, *Bismya*, page 181 and page 347.

⁸ British Museum, no. 92262.

⁹ For example, a sherd from Ashur (in Berlin, unpublished), a vessel from Susa *Délégation en Perse*, VIII, page 143), and another vessel from Susa (Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie orientale*, II, fig. 556).

Egypt ("black punctured ware," also called "Tell-el-Jahudiyeh" ware) which can be dated by Egyptian evidence to soon after 2000 B.C.

On the whole, the balance of evidence is in favour of a date of late in the Third Millennium for this grey-black incised ware of Mesopotamia.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY THIRD MILLENNIUM IN EGYPT, MESOPOTAMIA AND ELAM

This chapter discusses some of the finds from, and stratification of, various ancient cities in Mesopotamia and Elam (Section A), and then proposes a chronological system to explain this material (Section B, page 55). This system is then checked by the examination of different evidence from any previously discussed (Section C, page 60).

A.—STRATIFICATION OF, AND FINDS FROM, ANCIENT SITES

I. NINEVEH

The Nineveh IV period is defined as being represented by the material discovered in the strata lying between 18 and 34 feet below datum in the excavations carried out by Dr. Campbell Thompson.¹ The pottery of this period is not painted with designs (except in the case of the rare light-on-dark painted pottery) and only rarely decorated with incised decoration. Buff ware, grey ware and red-wash ware are common, and "reserved-slip ware" occurs. The most important of the shapes are:—

Spouted pots (fig. 5. B).

"Strap-handled" cups (fig. 5. A).

Straight sided tumblers (fig. 5. C).

Bevelled rim bowls (fig. 4).

Pots with angular shoulders and four lug-handles (fig. 5. D).

These wares can be used to define a period of Near Eastern history, since they are paralleled in many sites in Eastern Mediterranean lands.

¹ Campbell Thompson and Mallowan in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, XX, pp. 165 ff.

II. KISH

Mr. Harden has pointed out¹ that "at Kish, in the strata between water-level and virgin-soil, traces of a similar civilisation to that of Jemdet Nasr occurred" and that "at water level and just below it, occurred the so-called reserved-slip ware." Still higher were strata containing "wares with incised decoration, and burnished wares either red colour coated or plain grey. Into this stratum were driven the "Y" graves, containing pottery of similar technique." Above the "Y" graves occur deposits of "A" pottery which "consists almost entirely of plain and incised wares, though a few survivals of red colour coated and brown burnished wares occur."

The parallels between the ceramics of Kish and Nineveh (of the Nineveh IV period) are confined to "red-wash" ware, grey ware and reserved slip ware, all of which occur in the one metre thick stratum which overlies the latest polychrome pottery at Kish. However, in the ensuing period at Kish (the "Y" period with a deposit four metres thick) there occur lugged pots,² somewhat similar to vessels from Nineveh IV. Other pottery of the "Y" period is paralleled at Ur, as for example the simple pottery stands, and the tall goblet with a hollow foot.³ The subsequent period ("A" period), represented by about three metres, is characterised by elaborate pottery stands⁴ and "handled jars".⁵

III. JEMDET NASR

The best known pottery of Jemdet Nasr, the polychrome ware, is not known at Nineveh. There are, however, parallels between the two sites, in the following ceramics:—

Bevelled rim bowls⁶

Spouted jars.⁷

¹ Harden in *Iraq*, I, pp. 31 ff.

² *Iraq*, I, page 34 (fig. 2), no. 8.

³ *Iraq*, I, page 34 (fig. 2), nos. 12 and 13.

⁴ Mackay, *Field Museum of natural history, Anthropology Memoirs*, I, no. 3. *Report on excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq*, pp. 249-250, and Plate LXVII, nos. 22-23.

⁵ Mackay, *loc. cit.*, Plate LXIII.

⁶ *Iraq*, I, page 41 (fig. 5), nos. 4 and 12.

⁷ *Iraq*, I, page 41 (fig. 5), no. 13 b.

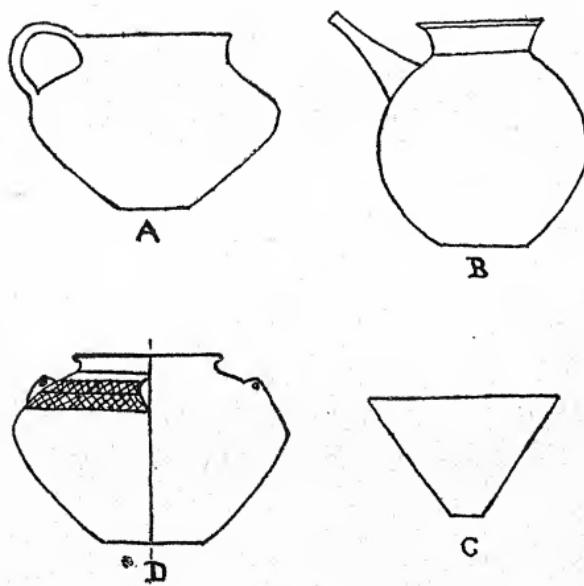


Fig. 5

CHARACTERISTIC PIECES OF NINEVEH IV POTTERY

The pot with angular shoulders and four lug handles.¹

"Strap-handled" cups.²

Straight sided tumblers.³

Plain and ribbed grey ware.⁴

Red-wash ware.⁵

IV. UR

At Ur, bevelled rim bowls were found stratified half-a-metre below the latest sherds of polychrome pottery. A little later, red ware becomes common, and the tall pottery goblet with a foot (as at Kish in the "Y" period) is found. Still later "reserved slip" ware appears, $3\frac{1}{2}$ metres above the bevelled rim bowls, and immediately preceding a level stated to be of First Dynasty of Ur date.⁶

Much of the materials found at Ur which is parallel to the pottery of the Nineveh IV period, was found below a stratum called the Seal Impression Stratum IV (S.I.S. IV). In this 2 metres thick stratum below S.I.S. IV., Woolley found "graves different in every respect from those of the Royal Cemetery," and he pointed out that "such a divergence in the ritual of burial must imply a great difference in time or in religious belief or in race." He also shewed that the stone and clay vessels from below S.I.S. IV were of different types from those known later, and included polychrome Jemdet Nasr ware.⁷ It should be noted that the Royal Cemetery graves are dug into, but not below, S.I.S. IV.

The inscriptions of S.I.S. IV are those referred to as the "Archaic texts" of Ur.⁸

Mr. Gadd has pointed out that "a number of close resemblances can be traced between the remains of early Lagash and the contents of Ur tombs, whereas there seem to be no particular

¹ Mackay, *loc. cit.*, Plate LXIV, nos. 1, 2, 3, etc.

² Mackay, *loc. cit.*, Plate LXIV, nos. 17, 22, 23, etc.

³ Mackay, *loc. cit.*, Plate LXVII, nos. 1, 2, 3, etc.

⁴ Mackay, *loc. cit.*, Plate LXIV, no. 10, and page 234, and Plate LXXVI, no. 5.

⁵ Mackay, *loc. cit.*, page 236.

⁶ Woolley, in *The Antiquaries Journal*, 1929-1930, pp. 331 ff.

⁷ Woolley, in *The Antiquaries Journal*, 1930, pp. 327-328.

⁸ See Appendix C to this Chapter.

differences, either in art or in epigraphy, except for the much greater richness of what has survived from Ur."¹ (By the "Ur" tombs is meant the "Royal Cemetery.")

UR

STRATIFICATION IN THE TOWN AREA

<i>Metres above Sea-Level</i>	
12.00	Reserved Slip ware.
	Royal Cemetery.
11.00	Archaic Texts. Approximate level of the lowest part of S.I.S. IV Stratum.
	Incised wares. Tall footed goblets.
10.00	Jemdet Nasr ware disappears. "Plum-red" ware common. Bevelled rim bowls.
9.00	Cement bricks. Jemdet Nasr ware begins to appear. Plain red ware.
8.00	Al Ubaid ware.

¹ Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, pp. 39 ff.

V. URUK

It was stated by the excavators of Uruk that the pottery fabrics of Stratum VI¹ there are of new types, unlike the preceding. These "new" types include the "strap-handled" cup and the conical straight-sided tumbler. The often mentioned Uruk wares (red and grey pottery), which appear first in Stratum XIV, become very common in this Stratum VI. Similarly, the bevelled rim bowl, and various shapes of spouted vessels, are well known in Stratum VI, though they also appeared first in lower strata. Also in Stratum VI appeared "cement bricks,"² as known at Ur, where they synchronise with the latest sherd of al Ubaid ware.

VI. LAGASH (TELLO)

Nineveh IV period ceramics from Nineveh are paralleled in a stratum at Tello, called by the excavators the stratum of the "Uruk period."³ Herein were found bevelled rim bowls,⁴ spouted vessels,⁵ grey ware,⁶ red ware,⁷ lugged vessels,⁸ "strap-handled" cups,⁹ and straight-sided tumblers.¹⁰

¹ The publication of the early pottery (which is not complete or clear) is:—Arnold Noldeke and others, *Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über . . . Uruk*, 1932 (Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1932 Phil-Hist, Klasse No. 6), Plates 16–21. It is not made clear in that publication that the bevelled rim bowls occur in levels IV, VI, VII and XII.

² At Uruk, Jordan, *Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über . . . Uruk*, page 19. At Ur, Woolley, *The Antiquaries Journal*, X, 1930, page 333.

³ H. de Genouillac, *Fouilles de Tello*, I.

⁴ H. de Genouillac, *loc. cit.*, page 24, Plate VIII and photograph 3.3.

⁵ H. de Genouillac, *loc. cit.*, Plates IV and VII.

⁶ There was, in the store room of the Louvre Museum before the war, a shard of polished ribbed grey ware (no. T.G. 5268) from Tello. It is similar to Nineveh IV grey ware, and is unpublished.

⁷ H. de Genouillac, *loc. cit.*, pp. 34 and 35.

⁸ H. de Genouillac, *loc. cit.*, Plates V and VI.

⁹ H. de Genouillac, *loc. cit.*, Plate VI, no. 4304.

¹⁰ H. de Genouillac, *loc. cit.*, Plate VIII, nos. 4242 and 4244.

QUOTED FROM THE EXCAVATION REPORT

TELLO

Depth in metres.

" Esplanade d'Entéména." 0.00

" Fragments à beau lustre rouge." 1.00

2.00

" Une couche . . . de l'époque de Warka." 3.00

Long pointed-shape vase with high collar neck.
(4693 : A.O. 14380.) 4.00

" Les cylindres caractéristiques de
Warka IV apparaissent." 5.00

6.00

" des urnes à becs avec un cachet à belière
(" bouton ") . . . des poteries rouges
à oreillettes de suspension." 7.00

8.00

" Lustre noir." 9.00

" Badigeon blanc" 10.00

VII. FARA

Painted pottery, said to be of Jemdet Nasr type, was found in Stratum I at Fara. No tablets have yet been found in that stratum, though a number of unstratified tablets are stated to come from Fara, inscribed with signs which "tend to become extremely complicated, but remain linear."¹ These tablets have been assigned to a variety of dates, usually before the time of Ur-Nina (about 2700 B.C.).²

VIII. SUSA

Virgin soil is at about 12 metres below datum. The lowest 4 metres contains the material of the Susa I. a. period, to which belongs the famous painted "Susa I." ware. The next period is represented by deposits which appear to be fairly homogeneous, though they have been subdivided into "niveau II and III." Objects from these later levels include the following:—

A Sumerian figurine³

Red slip pottery

Bevelled rim bowls⁴

Theriomorphic vessels⁵

Multiform vessels⁶

Spouted vessels⁷

Lugged pots of Nineveh IV type.⁸

Handled cups of Nineveh IV type.⁹

¹ Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, page 13.

² See Father Burrows in *The Royal Cemetery*. See also Appendix C to this Chapter.

³ *Délégation en Perse*, XIII, Plate XL, nos. 7 and 8.

⁴ *Délégation en Perse*, I, figs. 91, 118 and 121: and Vol. XX, fig. 1, no. 4.

⁵ *Délégation en Perse*, VII, page 19, figs. 10-14; and Vol. XIII, Plate XXXII, no. 12, and Plate XXXVII and Plate XXXVIII.

⁶ *Délégation en Perse*, VII, page 18, nos. 6 and 9; and Vol. XIII, no. 9.

⁷ *Délégation en Perse*, XXV, fig. 32.

⁸ *Délégation en Perse*, XIII, Plate XXXII, nos. 2 and 3, etc.; and Vol. XX, fig. 24, no. 8, and fig. 32, no. 17.

⁹ *Délégation en Perse*, XXV, fig. 33, no. 2.

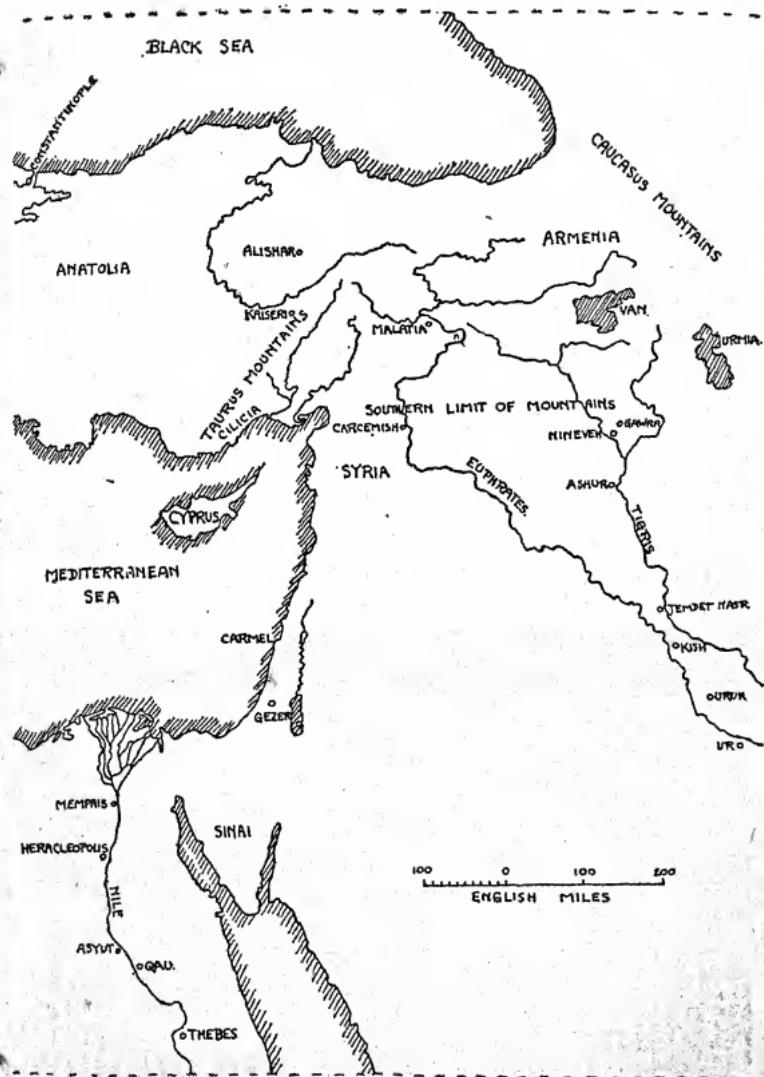


Fig. 6
MAP OF THE NEAR EAST

Button seals.¹

Animal shaped seals.²

Conoid seals.³

Motifs on seals of opposed reversed animals, and processions of animals.⁴

Amulets.⁵

These numerous parallels between the Susa material from above four metres above datum, and material from Nineveh IV suggests that it is likely that those strata are, to some extent contemporary. This brings us to the question of the dating of the Susa II polychrome pottery, which was found at about eleven metres above virgin soil, in the II me. niveau of the Acropolis tell. This ware has been sometimes described as contemporaneous with the Jemdet Nasr period. But, as shewn above, the material parallel with the Nineveh IV period wares, when found on Mesopotamian sites, occurs only contemporary with, or later than, the Jemdet Nasr polychrome ware. Moreover, at about the same level as polychrome pottery of Susa II type, in a sounding in the *Ville Royale* there was found pottery of the type found at Kish of the "A" period. The "A" period at Kish is, no doubt correctly, stated to be contemporary with the Royal Cemetery at Ur. The beginning of the "A" period at Kish is stratified at about five metres above the polychrome pottery at that site, while, at Ur, the lowest level of the Royal Cemetery is about three metres above the latest polychrome pottery. This evidence would seem to suggest that the Jemdet Nasr, and Susa II classes of polychrome pottery are not contemporary. Consequently, one should be prepared to consider that there were two periods, possibly centuries apart, when polychrome pottery was made.

¹ *Délégation en Perse*, XII, fig. 40 and XXV, fig. 17.

² *Délégation en Perse*, VII, fig. 90 and Plate XXI, no. 3.a; also VIII, figs. 6 and 7; also XXV, fig. 30, nos. 6 and 7. This type of seal also occurs at Jemdet Nasr (Mackay, *loc. cit.*, pp. 283-284) and at Tello (H. de Genouillac, *loc. cit.*, photograph plate 36, 6, f-i).

³ *Délégation en Perse*, VIII, figs. 1-5.

⁴ *Délégation en Perse*, VII, figs. 90, 91, 92 and Plate XXI, no. 5 b, and Vol. VIII, fig. 5.

⁵ *Délégation en Perse*, XXV, fig. 27.

SUSA

STRATIFICATION OF A TRENCH IN THE "VILLE ROYALE"

From "Délégation en Perse," Volume XXV

Metres below
datum.

Bricks of Gimilsin. (C. 2200 B.C.?) - - - 12

"Pottery of 2500 B.C." including characteristic
pottery vessels of Kish Period "A" (Figure 55,
nos. 5 and 6).Polychrome Pottery of Susa II type (Figure 61: see
also pages 218 and 236) - - - 14"Cratères à quatre boutons à engobe rouge," (as
Nineveh IV).

VIRGIN SOIL. "2800 B.C. according to the excavators" 16

19231

SUSA

TELL OF THE ACROPOLIS

Metres below datum.	From "Délégation en Perse, Volume XXV	Metres below datum.
— 0.00	" II ^e Niveau."	" II ^e Niveau" " 2500 B.C." — 0.00 Pottery (Figure 21).
— 1.00	" 3200 B.C."	" 3000 B.C." — 1.00 Pottery (Figure 24).
— 2.00		" 3200 B.C." — 2.00 Amulets (Figure 27).
— 3.00		Animal-shaped seals, — 3.00 Figure 30, 6 & 7.
— 4.00	Button seals (Figure 17).	— 4.00
— 5.00		— 5.00
— 6.00	" 3500 B.C." — 6.00 Pottery, Figure 32.	
— 7.00	Susa I sherds. Red slip ware.	— 7.00
— 8.00		— 8.00
— 9.00	Stamp seal (Figure 19). Bitumen lion figure. Susa I sherds.	— 9.00
— 10.00		— 10.00
— 11.00		— 11.00
— 12.00	Virgin soil.	— 12.00
		— 13.00

SUSA

Metres below datum.	From "Délégation en Perse," Volume XX, pp. 100 ff.	From "Délégation en Perse" Volume XIII, Figure 13. "Section théorique." (+0.00=top level of Tell.)	Metres below datum.
0.00			-12.00
	II ^e Niveau.		
-1.00			-13.00
-2.00			-14.00
-3.00		"Strata of time of Hammurabi."	-15.00
-4.00			-16.00
-5.00		Pottery: of Plates 33, 37, 38 Nineveh IV ware.	-17.00
	III ^e Niveau.	Theriomorphic vessels.	
-6.00	"Jemdet Nasr type" lids. Bevelled rim bowls.	"Strata of time of Naram Sin."	-18.00
-7.00			-19.00
-8.00		Multiform pottery vessels Sumerian Figurine. Plate XL.	-20.00
-9.00		Upper limit of strata of the "Archaic Period."	-21.00
-10.00	Red slip pottery		-22.00
-11.00	Susa I sherds.		-23.00
-12.00	Virgin soil.	Painted Pottery of the First Period Virgin Soil.	-24.00

IX. CARCHEMISH

Bevelled rim bowls, and a lugged pot of the Nineveh IV type, were found at Carchemish.¹

X. ASHUR

The lowest strata at Ashur (strata H and G) contained statuettes of which Mr. Sidney Smith said that they "belong to about the same period as Entemena of Lagash" and that "these figures are proof of a considerable northern extension of early Sumerian civilisation."² He describes the pottery models of houses found at Ashur, saying that "no object precisely similar has been found in any excavation of a Sumerian site."³ He also draws attention to the parallels between pottery at Ashur and elsewhere, which is afforded by anthropomorphic objects.⁴

The pottery found at Ashur, in strata H and G, is closely paralleled at Kish, chiefly in the later levels of the "A" period. Entemena is to be dated, according to Mr. Sidney Smith, to about 2600 B.C., and it will be shewn later that this may also be about the date of the beginning of the "A" period at Kish. Possibly therefore the strata H and G should be dated to about the middle of the Third Millennium.

There are no ceramic parallels between Ashur and Nineveh. However, a figurine of a Sumerian was found at Nineveh, of the Nineveh IV period,⁵ as well as a statue which has several Sumerian analogies. (See Appendix A to this Chapter.)

¹ The British Museum Folio Book (unpublished) on Carchemish, folios 236, 237, and photographs 14, 19 and 31.

² Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, pp. 62 ff.

³ Mr. Sidney Smith refers to alleged parallels at Boghaz Keui, and at Baisan, but not to the pottery house models from Egypt, of the first intermediate period.

⁴ He does not refer to the anthropomorphic pottery of the Early Minoan III period in Crete, nor to anthropomorphic vessels found by Mr. Wainwright in the late third millennium tomb of Hap-Zefi at Assiut, nor to the other Egyptian similar vessels. (Wainwright in *Annales du Service*, XXVI, pp. 162 ff.) Evans, followed by Pendlebury, referred only to the Dendereh example. (P. of M. II, page 258.)

⁵ L.A.A.A., XVIII, Plate XXV, no. 12.

ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE DISCUSSED ABOVE

A period, known at Nineveh as Nineveh IV, in Mesopotamian history, is represented by a well defined set of ceramics, many of which appear in several sites in the Near East. This period is dated as being, in part, shortly before the time of the Sumerians, and is represented by different objects from those of that people. That epoch of "before the Sumerians" is not, however, a period of uniform civilisation in Mesopotamia. But the parallels between sites, in one way or another, make it possible to deal with them all simultaneously, when considering the pre-Sumerian age.

There are indications that, while the Nineveh IV period at Nineveh would have begun, very probably, before the time of the entry of the Sumerians into Mesopotamia, one should be prepared to consider that the later part of the Nineveh IV period was contemporary with the Sumerian epoch.

B.—CHRONOLOGY

One important point about the material discussed so far is the fact that bevelled rim bowls have been found, possibly belonging to a comparatively short period only, in many sites in Mesopotamia. Similar bowls have been found in Egypt (the earliest of the First Dynasty), appearing at a time when a number of other introductions also appear for the first time.¹ Some of these introductions to Egypt are paralleled in Mesopotamia, where they are long-lived. They are, however, ephemeral in Egypt, and a strong Asiatic influence upon Egypt at that time may therefore be suggested. Clearly such an influence would, as has often been suggested, explain the peculiar relationship between Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilisations, which, although similar, are perhaps not sufficiently similar to be thought to have influenced each other directly.

¹ As for example, the recessed panel architectural style, and the pear-shaped mace head, and the cylinder seal. The bowls are discussed in Chapter III.

In Mesopotamia the bevelled rim bowls belong to the period during which wares of the Nineveh IV type were in use. These Nineveh IV type ceramics first appear at the time of the use of polychrome pottery of the Jemdet Nasr type, and both they, and that polychrome ware, give the impression of being foreign importations in the places where they have been found. This suggests that the appearance of bevelled rim bowls indicates in Mesopotamia, as in Egypt, the coming of a new people. It will be assumed that this is so, and that the makers of these bowls, who can be dated in Egypt to the 30th century (see Appendix B to this Chapter), may not unreasonably be dated in Mesopotamia a little earlier, to, say, about 3100 B.C.

It would be possible to use the phrase "Jemdet Nasr period" as representing the time when there was used in southern Babylonia the Nineveh IV type of civilisation. This period would be dated theoretically as having begun shortly before 3000, and as having ended with the arrival of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia. But it is difficult to define the "Jemdet Nasr period" very clearly. It is also difficult to define the other much quoted period called the "Uruk period." For those reasons, and also because of the great richness and variety of finds from Nineveh IV strata, it is suggested that the term "Nineveh IV" should be used to describe the material characteristic of the Nineveh IV period, wherever it may be found.

So far the main targets of study have been the finds from, and stratification of, several Mesopotamian sites. The next stage is to attempt to define the course of history, by the use of the results of that study. But when one is trying to deal with the chronology of ancient sites, two things are necessary—one must have a starting-point, and one must use a ratio of vertical measurement of strata in relation to the passing of time. In the chronological system proposed here, the starting point taken is the date suggested for the appearance of the bevelled rim bowls in Mesopotamia of 3100 B.C., while the time ratio will be the same (or nearly the same) as that already suggested by several excavators. It is that debris was deposited in ancient towns at an

average rate of four feet per century.¹ It is on these assumptions that the chronological system on pages 58 and 59 has been constructed.

It may be observed that the polychrome pottery at —6.00 metres at Kish is dated, in this chronological system, to correspond with the date of the latest polychrome pottery found at Ur, while Stratum VI at Uruk is dated soon after the earliest polychrome pottery at Ur, for the reason that in that Stratum VI occurred cement bricks and Nineveh IV type pottery. (Compare "Ur, Stratification in the Town Area" on page 45.)

¹ This rate was suggested by Professor Langdon, *a propos* of Kish. Professor Frankfort stated that, at Tell Asmar, "the floor level of the palace had risen about six metres in the interval between Gimilsin of Ur and Hammurabi." Mr. Mallown said that, at Tell Chagar Bazar, the "three and a half metres of occupational debris included in level I. falls approximately between 1900 and 1600 B.C."

The scheme is rigid, and there are the following objections to it:—

- (1) To assume such a rate of deposit presumes that the site would not have been abandoned for any length of time.
- (2) It does not allow for the displacement from their true stratification of objects found in graves in "built-up areas." This, however, is not likely to cause the mis-dating of objects by more than two centuries, and such an inaccuracy is worth accepting, in order to obtain a chronological scheme which will cover a wide area, since the material from many sites will provide sufficient evidence to cancel the effect of such mistakes.
- (3) It assumes that strata are horizontal, and this is probably incorrect. But the variations in level of strata are not likely to cause mis-dating to any very serious extent.

It has one virtue—it does insist on equal treatment of excavated sites, and does provide a fixed scale, by the aid of which one will not be at the mercy of varied personal opinions, as regards the dating of objects, as opposed to strata.

NINEVEH

(Levels in feet)

UR AND URUK

(Levels in metres)

	3200	Ur : Earliest Poly- chrome ware.	+ 8.20
	3150	Uruk : Stratum VI	
—38 Bevelled rim bowls.	3100	Ur : Bevelled rim bowls	+ 9.20
	3050	Ur : Latest Poly- chrome ware.	+ 9.80
		Ur : Red ware.	
—34 Nineveh IV Period	3000	Uruk : Stratum IV.	
begins.	2950	Ur : Tall goblet on foot	+ 10.80
—30 Reserved slip ware. Red ware.	2900	Uruk : Stratum III	
—28 Beads : " Cycladic " and Sumerian figurines.	2850	Ur : Reserved slip ware. Ur : Royal Cemetery	+ 12.80
Two headed amulets.	2800	Uruk : Stratum I.	
—25 Vaulted Tombs. Light-on-dark pottery.	2750		
		Ur : Vaulted Tombs.	
—22 Glass.	2700		
	2650		
—18 End of the Nineveh IV Period.	2600	Ur : Kish " A " period imported pottery.	
	2550		
	2500		

KISH
(*Levels in Metres.*)EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES
AND OTHER IMPORTANT
EVENTS.

		3100
— 6.00	Polychrome Pottery Reserved slip ware.	3050
	Red ware. Grey ware	3000 Egypt : Bevelled rim bowls begin.
— 5.00	“Y” Period begins. Tall goblet on foot Pottery stands.	2950 Egypt : Dynasty I begins. Jemdet Nasr Tablets.
— 4.00	Lugged pots.	2900 Ur : Archaic Texts. Egypt : Dynasty II begins.
— 3.00	No grey ware.	2850
		2800 Egypt : Dynasty III begins. Tablet A.O. 221.
— 2.00		2750 Fara Tablets. Egypt : Dynasty IV begins.
— 1.00	“Y” period ends.	2700 Ur-Nina.
	“A” period begins.	2650 Egypt : Dynasty V begins.
0.00	Pots with “mother- goddess” handles.	2600 Entemena.
+ 1.00	Scalloped Axe.	2550 Sargon of Agade.
+ 2.00	Foundation of “Sar- gonid” Temple.	2500 Egypt : Dynasty VI begins. Glass in Egypt.
		2450
		2400 Egypt : Dynasty VII begins.

C.—THE PROPOSED CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

It is not suggested that any chronological system could be accurate to within a century or so. But it is suggested that there is now enough material from sites in Mesopotamia to make it possible to draw up a general scheme uniting all the sites of Mesopotamia and illustrating their inter-relationship. If enough sites are examined it will be possible to obtain an extensive check on such a scheme, while its reasonableness could be confirmed by the examination of parallels from other lands.

The purpose of the scheme proposed is to assign dates to strata, and hence to objects—not vice-versa, as has occurred in the past.

It is interesting to note the following, as a check on the proposed system.

I. ARCHITECTURE

According to the scheme proposed, the so-called "Sargonid Temple" at Kish would be dated to about 2450 B.C.

II. THE ARCH

If the chronological system proposed is correct, the true arch was approximately contemporary at Nineveh and Ur and in Egypt.¹ It was employed in all those places for a short space of time, (appearing twice in Egypt, for short periods only) which hardly suggests that it was native to any of them. If it were not native, but introduced from elsewhere, the approximate contemporaneity is what would be expected.

¹ See page 28. The true (voussoir) arch seems to have been used in Egypt at the time of the Third Dynasty (Garstang, *The Third Egyptian Dynasty*, Plate 14) and also at the time of the Sixth Dynasty (Petrie, *Dendereh*, frontispiece) and Schafer, *Priester gräber . . . vom Totentempel des Ne-user-Re.* pp. 3 ff. and figs. 3, 4, 5. The normal type of vault during the third millennium both in Mesopotamia and in Egypt was the corbel vault, which is very common. Other vaulted constructions of Sumerian date may be an "arched sewer" built of plano-convex bricks at Fara (found by Koldewey) (E. J. Banks, *Bismya*, page 294) and vaulted tombs of plano-convex bricks, of the Early Dynastic period, found by M. Watelin at Kish (Ingharra) at about 5 metres above water level (Seton Lloyd, *Mesopotamia*, pp. 45-47.)

III. HANDICRAFTS

Glass

Glass beads occur at 22 feet below datum at Nineveh¹ (of 2700, according to the system proposed) and also in Egypt, not earlier than the sixth dynasty, or about 2500².

Glass is not only very rare before 1500, it is also a most unusual substance, and one of which the manufacture would not have been easy to invent. Consequently, it seems unlikely that glass could first have been made at approximately the same time both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, without there being some sort of connection between the two countries. And when other pieces of evidence do suggest both that there was such a connection, and that the early glass of Mesopotamia and Egypt can be dated to appear in both areas within a fairly short space of time, it is likely that the evidence of glass at Nineveh and Egypt confirms the possibility of the truth of the chronological system proposed here.

Beads

A variety of beads, some of highly specialised types, were found at Nineveh in strata dated, by the system proposed, to not later than 2800. Some of these types, such as the "fancy cylinder" and the "crumb," neither of which are common, occur in Egyptian tombs as early as the Fourth Dynasty,³ of about 2750. There are other parallels afforded by beads, some of which have been examined elsewhere.⁴ It may be reasonable to suggest that such a peculiar bead as the "crumb" type is not likely to have been invented independently in different areas. If so, then perhaps beads also may offer a confirmation of the chronological system proposed.

Pottery

Spouted pots are supposed to have been made in Asia from a

¹ See Chapter III, page 32.

² Glass is known before the time of the first dynasty in Egypt, but not during the first five dynasties.

³ A "crumb" bead was found in a first dynasty context in Egypt.

⁴ See Chapter III, page 31.

very remote date. They are not very common in Egypt before the time of the fourth dynasty. Then they appear fairly frequently,¹ and continue to be made until near the end of the first intermediate period. By the time of the Sixth Dynasty (c. 2500) spouted pots in Egypt were shaped like a bag, or an egg (fig. 7 D), and as early as that time appeared the first examples of a type of spouted jar (fig. 7 G) which was to become popular during the next century. This vessel, of baggy form, with a crinkled rim, and decorated with wavy incised lines, has an excrescence below the rim, which is always referred to as an imitation spout.² Similar vessels, with the same kind of incised decoration and with what the excavator describes as imitation spouts, occur at Kish,³ at the time of the "A" period (of 2600, according to the system proposed).

A vase of the "A" period style of Kish was found in one of the Royal tombs at Ur, while in another of those tombs was found a handle, of the "mother-goddess type," from a vessel of the same source.

IV.—WEAPONS

During the "A" period at Kish the "scalloped" type of axe-head (fig. 9 D) was in use.⁴ This type has been found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur,⁵ and is supposed to be dated in Egypt to the Fifth Dynasty⁶ (about 2600) which, according to the system proposed, was about contemporary with the "A" period at Kish, and the Royal Cemetery at Ur.

¹ The earliest spouted vessels in Mesopotamia seem to be those from stratum XVII, at Uruk. Some of the earliest spouted vessels in Egypt may be those illustrated by Scharff (*Abusir-el-Melek*) from tomb no. 58. c. 4, at that place.

² Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Plate LXXXVIII, no. 93 K. It should be noted that, in the H and G levels at Ashur, both similar incised decoration, and the "crinkled" style of rim occur. (Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, figs. 27 and 33.) Pots with "crinkled" rims occur in the Early Anatolian II period (Osten, *The Alisar Huyuk*, Seasons of 1928 and 1929, Vol. I, fig. 126). Those "red-wash" vessels are paralleled in shape by pottery vessels, and a silver vessel, found in Crete and belonging to the Middle Minoan I period (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, fig. 139).

³ Mackay, *Field Museum of natural history, Anthropology, Memoirs*, I, no. 1, Plates IX-X and page 22. A more or less similar type of vessel to the Kish jars, with an excrescence below the rim occurs at Musyan (*Délégation en Perse*, VIII, no. 276).

⁴ Mackay, *loc. cit.*, Plate XVII, no. 8.

⁵ Woolley, in *The Antiquaries Journal*, IX, page 308, and Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, page 306 and Plate 224.

⁶ Petrie, *Tools and weapons*, Plate VI and page 9.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the objects of the Nineveh IV period at Nineveh can be paralleled in many places in Mesopotamia. It seems possible to suggest a workable scheme of chronology on the basis of these parallels, which embraces a very wide geographical area and a considerable length of time, and explains some previously unrelated facts. But it may, perhaps, be emphasised that such a scheme is not, and could not possibly be, final. It is proposed simply for examination. For no such scheme should be accepted without very thorough testing.

APPENDIX A

ON THE METAL HEAD FOUND IN NINEVEH

This head,¹ which may be of copper, or bronze, was discovered in a building in Squares P., Q., W. and X. With it was found a copper spear-head, inscribed in what Dr. Campbell Thompson originally described as "linear archaic cuneiform." Subsequently he agreed² that the inscription may be archaic. In his view, both the head and the spear-head, being found close together, may have both belonged to a statue, the remainder, possibly of wood, having decayed before discovery. Unfortunately, there is no record of the level in which the head was found.³

Dr. Campbell Thompson pointed out that "the twisted fillet and the hair knotted at the back of the head are the same as in the famous gold head piece of Mes-Kalam-Shar" of Ur. Mr. Mallowan⁴ has suggested further parallels with the "bearded bulls of the Royal Cemetery of Ur" and the Stela of the Vultures (from Lagash). He has also suggested parallels with the British Museum head no. 114197 (from Ur), which he says is of the period of Gudea, and with the Gudea stela in Berlin. Mr. Mallowan concludes that the head may be from a statue of Sargon.

¹ *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, XIX, pp. 72-73 and Plate L, 1, 2. Also *Iraq*, III, pp. 104 ff, and three Plates.

² In conversation. The spear-head, with a sketch of the inscription, has been illustrated in *Liverpool Annals*, XX, Plate LXXVIII, no. 42.

³ The spear-head is stated to have been found in W.7.

⁴ *Iraq*, III, pp. 104 ff.

APPENDIX B

ON THIRD MILLENNIUM CHRONOLOGY IN EGYPT

Dr. Meyer's scheme for the earlier part of Egyptian Dynastic history is as follows :—

Menes	-	-	-	-	3315
18 Thinite Kings (Dynasties					
I and II)	-	-	-	-	3315—2895
Zoser and three followers				-	2895—2840
Snefru	-	-	-	-	2840
IV Dynasty	-	-	-	-	2840—2680
V Dynasty	-	-	-	-	2680—2540
VI and VIII Dynasties	-	-	-	-	2540—2360
18 Heracleopolitan Kings					
(Dynasties IX and X)				-	2360—2160
7 Theban Kings	-	-	-	-	2160—2000

Dr. Meyer stated that the introduction of the calendar in Egypt can be assigned to 4241 B.C.¹

A great many other schemes have been proposed by others,² all of whom have criticised Dr. Meyer's system. Perhaps the most interesting of such criticisms is that made by Professor Scharff, who is of the opinion that the period of 419 years that is assigned by Meyer to the first two dynasties is too long. He says that the average length of reign given by that space of time is very high, and that, in any case, the 419 year period is not named anywhere. He then discusses the possible lengths of the periods of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, and comes to the conclusion that, considering these points and the Asiatic parallels with Egyptian First Dynasty material (from Ashur, Jericho and

¹ Meyer, *Egyptische Chronologie*, page 178, and *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, Part 2, page 109.

² They include :—Professor Reisner, *The early cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der*, I, page 126; Professor Scharff, *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Vorgeschichte*, page 51; Dr. Hall, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, pp. 166—173, and page 265; Professor Frankfort, *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem*, page 2; Professor Albright, in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI, pp. 71—73, XII, page 3 and XV, pp. 207—208.

Byblos) it would be impossible to date Menes and the First Dynasty before 3000 B.C. This considerable reduction in the date of the First Egyptian Dynasty seems to make the question as to the date of the introduction of the calendar acute, and this he examines at length. He says that, like H. Schneider and G. Moller, he prefers the date of 2781 for the introduction of the calendar, saying that he can see nothing against such a proposal. If the earlier date of 4241 were correct, it would mean either that the calendar was introduced at a time of the "dunkelste Vorzeit, which seems as improbable to him as to Reisner, or that 4241 was also the date of Menes. This latter suggestion, which was made by Professor Borchardt, entails what Scharff, and others, consider fantastic dating for, amongst other things, the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

Reisner considered that "the length of time indicated by the size of the pre-dynastic cemeteries and by the changes introduced during the course of the burials cannot possibly carry us beyond 4500 for the earliest pre-dynastic grave known . . . 4200 B.C. was a period of undoubted barbarism . . . it appears to me simply inconceivable that the Egyptian calendar can have been introduced formally at that time." With this MacIver seems to agree. Professor Albright prefers a reconstruction of the Palermo Stone, on the basis of which he concludes that Menes can be dated to the period 3000-2800 B.C.

It is suggested that the criticisms of Meyer's system which have been made by Scharff are very reasonable, and that there is no objection to his suggestion that the introduction of the calendar can be dated to 2781 B.C. It is also very reasonable to say that Meyer's dating of the average reign of the first two Dynasties is over-long. In this place it is assumed that the calendar was introduced at 2781 B.C.

It is believed that the epagomenal days are mentioned in an inscription of the time of the Fourth Dynasty. If this is true, the invention of the calendar probably had occurred by the time of the Fourth Dynasty. It is suggested that the introduction of the calendar occurred at about the time of the Third Dynasty, chiefly because the time of the Third Dynasty appears to have been a time of great inventiveness. With the assumption that

the invention of the calendar took place at 2781, it is possible to date the Third Dynasty as beginning near 2800 B.C. If the Turin Papyrus is correct in assigning 55 years to this Dynasty, it would have ceased to reign at about 2750 B.C.

As Scharff has pointed out, the average length of reigns suggested by Meyer for the first two Dynasties is long. It is suggested in the present study that the period of about 400 years allotted by Meyer to those Dynasties might well be halved, in order to bring about an approximate equality of length of reign throughout the whole of the earlier Dynasties of Egypt.

Based on the suggestions made in the paragraphs above, the following (purely formal) chronological scheme can be proposed:—

EARLY EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY

Early Dynastic Period		
(Dynasties I, II and III)	-	2975—2750
Old Kingdom		
(Dynasties IV, V and VI)	-	2750—2400
I First Intermediate Period		
(Dynasties VII, VIII, IX and X)		2400—2160

APPENDIX C

ON THE EARLIEST WRITTEN RECORDS FROM MESOPOTAMIA

The evidence afforded by tablets for the chronological sequence of periods in Mesopotamia is scanty.

The earliest examples of writing in Mesopotamia are pictographic, and a fair number of pictographic and semi-pictographic tablets are extant.¹ Very few of these were actually excavated scientifically, so that, from the chronological point of view, there

¹ These include:—Tablet S., see V. Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 14, page 93. Tablet W., see Scheil, *Recueil des travaux*, XXII, pp. 149 ff. and also in *Delegation en Perse*, II, 130, and Barton, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXII, pp. 126 ff. Tablet C.B.M. 16105, Barton, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1913, 6 ff. Tablet A.O. 8844, F. Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 24, page 23. The Tablets B.M. 8626a and 8626i. (The Blau Monuments.) Barton, *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, IX.1, page XIV; *Revue Semitique*, IV, pp. 43 ff. Tablet H., Ogden and Barton, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXIII, pp. 19 ff. and Barton, *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, IX.1, page VII. Tablet A.O. 7792, Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres du Louvre*, Plate 93, no. 2.

is little help to be obtained from stratigraphical connections. Professor Langdon said that "Tablet K," which was disinterred at Kish, was very early, but it is by no means certain that this tablet is genuine.¹ If it were, it was certainly not in strata at all near those in which it should have been—unless it had been brought from its original level in antiquity.² There are, however, the tablets found in various strata at Uruk,³ the Jemdet Nasr tablets, the Ur tablets and Tablet A.O. 221, of all of which the stratification is known, to some extent.

The Proto-Elamite tablets from Susa cannot be discussed very profitably, since their stratification is difficult to understand. There can be little doubt that the earliest tablets found in excavated and recorded strata are those found in Stratum IV at Uruk. The relation of these to the tablets found in Stratum III at Uruk is uncertain, and the stratification between the two is rather confused. However, there seems to have been, at least in places, in the tell, a displacement of at least a metre or more, between the two strata. The tablets of this Stratum III, or rather of the sub-division of it called III b, are stated by Falkenstein to be parallel to the tablets of Jemdet Nasr.⁴ Later in style than the Jemdet Nasr texts are the "Archaic Texts" from Ur.⁵ These are stratified below the Royal Cemetery of Ur, which has been dated to not before 2850 B.C. Still later is the Tablet A.O. 221⁶ (of which the stratification was not as clearly defined as one could have wished), which appears to be of a date not very much earlier

¹ Langdon said, "The most perplexing aspect of the inscription is the fact that whereas the sign for *S A G* "head" is a carefully drawn picture of the head and neck and obviously older than any known pictograph for "head," the form of the numeral for *one* is not so archaic as the club-shaped design for *one* on the *Blau Monument*, or even on the limestone tablet from Surappak, R.A. VI 143." (*Excavations at Kish*, I, Plate XXXI and page 99.) He also says of it that while "the reverse seems to have been written in the later standardised style, ending in the left column" the obverse was written in an earlier style. (*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, VII, page IV.)

² Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery at Kish*, page 125.

³ Discussed by Falkenstein in *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*.

⁴ Falkenstein, in *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, pp. 13-14.

⁵ Burrows, in *Ur Excavations*, Texts II, "Archaic Texts," page 1.

⁶ This is the "Tablette de la figure aux plumes," found at Lagash. See Heuzey, *Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes*, pp. 76-79. De Sarzec and Heuzey, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Plate 1, bis fig. 1 a.b., page 164, and page XXXIV of the partie épigraphique. See also, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, IV, page 110 and V, page 41, and fig. 36.

than the time of Ur-Nina. That is to say, it might be dated to the neighbourhood of 2750, according to the calculations of Mr. Sidney Smith and Father Burrows.¹ Contemporary with this tablet, according to Falkenstein, are the tablets found in Stratum I at Uruk, which appear to have been in strata not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres above the lowest part of the Stratum III there. Later there are the tablets found at Fara, which have been dated to a variety of periods.²

It should be noted that plano-convex bricks occur in the Royal Cemetery at Ur, and in levels of the periods of Ur-Nina and Eannatum, and in those of Stratum I at Uruk. This period can probably be dated as being about 2850-2600 B.C.³ Before and after that period the bricks were flat.

The date of Ur-Nina is supposed to lie about half-way between the dates of Mesannipadda and Sargon, perhaps nine reigns before the latter. This would be about 2700 B.C., according to the calculations of Mr. Sidney Smith and Father Burrows.

¹ See Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, pp. 21-22. Unger, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 34, pp. 198 ff. Christian, in *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, 4, pp. 9 ff.

² A "very slightly plano-convex brick from . . . -33 feet" at Nineveh "which, from its depth, was probably intrusive, there being evidence of disturbance," *L.A.A.A.*, XX, page 149. This would probably date from before 2850, if it were not intrusive.

It will be noticed that the stratification and dating of these texts agrees with the chronological system proposed.

CHAPTER V

INDICATIONS OF FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON EGYPT DURING THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

It is difficult to discover the reality behind changes in the culture of any country, at almost any period. Often such changes are thought to be of such a type as might be expected to occur. In Egypt, for example, during the third millennium many changes occurred (some of which are briefly catalogued below) which may be due to a purely national development. On the other hand, they may be due to a greater or less degree of oriental influence, since many of them are paralleled in Western Asia. If the latter be true, it does not make Egyptian civilisation out as being non-Egyptian, it merely illustrates the development in Egypt of the civilisation of that country through the utilisation of ideas not necessarily native there.

THE PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

Professor Frankfort has discussed¹ the possible parallels between objects found in Egypt and Western Asia, and has shewn that some types, such as vessels in the form of animals, birds and fish, as well as pot-stands and multiple vessels, all occur in both areas. In Egypt the majority are of pre-dynastic date. Frankfort suggests that they may very well be of Asiatic origin. The appearance of some other things of the same date in Egypt may, perhaps, suggest the same thing, as for example tubular goblets with a foot,² lugged seals³ and the "Gizeh" type of skull.⁴

¹ Frankfort, *Studies*, I, pp. 105 ff.

² Petrie, *Predynastic Egypt*, page 35 and Plate XL. For Asiatic examples, see E. Heinrich in *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk*, Plates 2, 3 and 21, nos. a, b, c.

³ At Jemdet Nasr, Mackay, *Excavations at Jemdet Nasr*, page 284 and Plate LXXXII, figs. 20 and 21, and Plate LXXXIII, figs. 30 and 31. In the Cyclades, Dümmler, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1886, page 20 and Plate I, page 16. At Hissarlik, Schlie-mann, *Ilios*, page 415 and figs. 492 and 299. At Uruk, in the Sammelfund, where tubular vases of note 2 above were found.

⁴ McIver, *El Amrah*, page 49 and Plate XIX. Elliott Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 92, 105 and 106. Elliott Smith, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, II, page 28. Derry, in Junker's *Turah*, page 93.

THE FIRST TWO DYNASTIES

WRITING

It is usually considered that the appearance of pictographic writing in Egypt constitutes a link between Egypt and Western Asia.

PHYSICAL TYPE

At al Kawamil there were found graves¹ which may be dated, by the pottery found in them, to the beginning of the dynastic period. Sir Arthur Keith pointed out that the skull-type of those interred therein is closely similar to the skull-type found at al Ubaid. This large dolichocephalic skull is said to be rare in Egypt, and to belong to a limited period. Certainly the types of pottery found in the graves in which this type of skull occurred² belong to the first two dynasties only.

ARCHITECTURE

The recessed panel type of architecture of the mastaba superstructure of tombs is believed to date from about the time of the beginning of the First Dynasty. It is a style well known in Asia, where it is believed to have lasted for a long period from a remote date.

DECORATIVE MOTIFS

The decoration of palettes of carved stone display, as M. Heuzey has shewn,³ close parallels with Asiatic art.

¹ J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Egypte*, Volume II (1897), pp. 306 ff.

² J. de Morgan, *loc. cit.*, figs. 463 and 466.

³ Heuzey, *Comptes rendus*, 1899, pp. 61-67. Also, compare the lion eating a man on the Egyptian palette B.M. 20791 with the lion eating cattle on the bowl shewn in *B.M. Quarterly*, XI, no. 3, pp. 117 ff, and Plates XXXI XXXII. Mr. Sidney Smith points out that the decoration of this bowl is similar to that of some fragments from Tell Aqrab (*Illustrated London News*, 1936, page 434, figs. 10 and 12). These fragments from Tell Aqrab were found with vases parallel to vases of the Uruk Sammelfund (Uruk stratum III). Again, compare the Egyptian palette, Cairo Museum no. 14238 (Legge, *Proceedings for the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, May, Plate IV) with the vase found at Uruk (Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, etc., Plates II, III and IV). Again, compare the fragments of an Egyptian palette, B.M. 20790 and 20792 and Louvre 11254 (Legge, *P.S.B.A.*, XXII, May, Plate II) with Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, Plates II, III and XXXVIII.

STONE VASES

Occasionally vases,¹ and other objects of stone than palettes,² were decorated with relief carving. Also rather rarely there is found the technique of inlaying used in stone, with lozenges and disks in a light coloured stone employed as the inlay,³ as in Mesopotamia at an early date.

FIGURINES

A lapis-lazuli figurine, of Cycladic type,⁴ was found at Hierakonpolis. This type is common all over Western Asia.

POTTERY

Dr. Reisner stated that the pottery of the first two dynasties consists only of "degenerate remnants of the fine pottery vessels of the pre-dynastic period,"⁵ though he points out that new types of stone and pottery vessels appear at the end of the Second Dynasty.⁶ Still, new types of pottery do appear in Egypt at the time of the First Dynasty,⁷ while many pre-dynastic types do not continue to be made during this epoch.⁸ Some of these new types have been attributed to a variety of places of origin, but without very much reason.⁹ However, amongst the "black polished pottery" found at Abydos there is a tall vase of grey clay¹⁰ which might very well be paralleled by the grey wares of the third millennium in Mesopotamia. Again, the red on buff painted

¹ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*.

² Emery, *The tomb of Hemaka*, Plate XII.

³ Emery, *The tomb of Hemaka*, Plate XII.

⁴ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, page 7, and Plate XVIII, no. 3. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, page 347 f. says that lapis comes mainly from Afghanistan, and is not found in Egypt.

⁵ Reisner, *Naga-ed-Der*, I, page 129.

⁶ Reisner, *The development of the Egyptian tomb*, page 356.

⁷ Such as the bevelled rim bowl and the tall pithos.

⁸ For example, black topped pottery. There are four pieces of this ware only of early dynastic date, see *el Amrah*, Plate XIV, B.2 b, *Abydos*, I, Plate VI, 9-10, *Tomeau Royal*, page 162, fig. 566.

⁹ Petrie, *Tarkhan*, II, page 11 and Plate IX, nos. 10-19. For Peet's comment on the attribution of some pottery found at Abydos, see *B.S.A. Annual*, XVII, pp. 253-254.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Abydos*, II, Plate XLII, nos. 20-36. The grey vase is no. 36.

pottery,¹ of a technique known in Palestine, Syria, Cyprus and the Aegean early in the Bronze Age, is made in the "amphoriskos" shape, which is dated in Egypt to the First Dynasty.² In Cyprus there are several examples of this shape in the early variety of "white painted ware," while one example is of incised ware,³ with a design of dotted triangles, as on the painted examples from Egypt. At about the same time in Egypt there appeared, in the tomb of Zer,⁴ some pottery paralleled in Jericho.⁵ Also at Jericho, at about the same level as that pottery there was found a piece of blackened ivory.⁶ Similar blackened ivory was used in Egypt, at about the time of the First Dynasty, though it is not paralleled elsewhere, except at Hissarlik.⁷ Also at about the same level at Jericho there was found "wavy-handled" and "hole-mouthed" pottery,⁸ similar to pottery found in Egypt, where it is known first during the pre-dynastic period.⁹

THE THIRD DYNASTY

METHODS OF INTERMENT

Interment under an inverted pot was used at this time.¹⁰ It

¹ Petrie, *The royal tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, pp. 9 and 46, and Plate LIV. Also Petrie, *Abydos*, I, page 6, and Plate VIII.

² Scharff, *Das vorgeschichtliche Graberfeld von Abusir el-melek*, Plate XIII. 59 and a-f and pp. 24-25.

³ Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum, I, Part II. C.92 pp. 18-19.

⁴ Petrie, *Abydos*, I, Plate VIII, nos. 4, 6 and 8.

⁵ L.A.A.A., XIX, pp. 3 ff, and Plate XII, nos. 22, 11 and 8.

⁶ L.A.A.A., XIX, Plate XXa.

⁷ Petrie, *The royal tombs of the First Dynasty*, I, pp. 21 ff. He states that the blackening is due to burning but this is not the opinion of the Natural History Museum. For the Hissarlik example, see Schliemann, *Ilios*, pp. 423-424 and fig. 517. It was found at about the same level as pieces of glass, stamp-seals, cylinder seals, lugged cylinder seals, button amulets and conoid seal amulets. Many of these types of object are found all over the Near East, usually of the middle or later part of the third millennium.

⁸ Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, page 104, and fig. 92 (page 104) and Plate XXI c.r. A hole mouthed vessel is illustrated on Plate XX A.I.

⁹ Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*, Plate XXVIII and Plate VI, nos. 57a, 62a; Plate VII, 75a; and Plate XLIV, no. 100. A probably imported vessel of pre-dynastic date is one described by Wainwright in *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, pp. 21-20.

¹⁰ de Morgan, *Origines de l'Egypte*, II, fig. 470, etc. Quibell, *el Kab*, pp. 4 ff. Mace, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III, page 20. Garstang, *The Third Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 51 ff.

is a method used all over the Near East,¹ and is supposed to have been used in Egypt during late pre-dynastic days, but not during the First Dynasty. Bodies were perhaps sometimes flexed, and coffins may have been used.²

The pit type of tomb was still in use, but the deep stairway tomb is also in use at this time, and it is thought that the shaft type of tomb was constructed at the end of the Third Dynasty.

The step pyramid, and the buildings round it, have been much discussed.³ It can at least be said of this architecture that it is highly developed, unlike anything known before in Egypt, and may well belong to a school which had a long history outside Egypt.

STONE AND POTTERY VESSELS

It has been observed that the period of the Third Dynasty saw the introduction of "a number of new forms (including the flat-topped table) and new materials"⁴ of stone vases. But it is difficult to draw a clear line of division between one period and another. Probably what happened is that certain types of stone vessels, such as spouted jars, offering tables, bowls with outward-curving rims and so on, became so much more commonly used at the time of the Third Dynasty than they had been previously, that they appear to be characteristic innovations of that time. Precisely the same may be said of the pottery vases of this time. For, while some archaeologists have stated that the Third Dynasty period was one of ceramic innovation (without saying what the innovations were), it is probable that the following shapes are likely to have been much more common then than previously:—

Spouted bottles.⁵

Spouted bowls.⁶

¹ In the Caucasus: J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase*, I, fig. 21. In Crete: Seager, *The Cemetery of Pachyammos, Crete*, pp. 9 ff., and Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted tombs of Mesarà*, page 55. In Western Anatolia: *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des inscriptions*, 1900, page 269, and 1901, pp. 810 ff. In Mesopotamia: Mackay, *Excavations at Kish*, page 130.

² Garstang, *The Third Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 45 ff.

³ Reisner, *The development of the Egyptian Tomb*, pp. 147 ff. Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 6 ff.

⁴ Reisner, *The development of the Egyptian Tomb*, page 356.

⁵ Garstang, *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf*, Plate XXX, no. 18. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XVI, 99x, etc.

⁶ Garstang, *loc. cit.*, Plate XXX, no. 19. Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate XVI, no. 99w.

Globe shaped bottles.¹

Tall hollow stands.²

Bowls with outward-curving rims.³

LITERATURE

Dr. Gardiner observed that "the oldest consecutive texts which we possess display the Egyptian language as in course of losing the only true narrative verb-form it ever possessed, namely . . . the Old Perfective."⁴ These texts are probably not to be dated before the time of the Third Dynasty. Dr. Gardiner has said that "the Old Perfective was discovered and compared with the Semitic Perfect by Erman, who gave to it the name of 'Pseudo-Participle'—in particular, a close resemblance has been noticed between the Egyptian Old Perfective and the Akkadian . . . permansive . . . the relationship of the Egyptian Old Perfective to the Semitic Perfect seems indisputable, but the exact nature of that relationship has yet to be determined."⁵

PHYSICAL TYPE

It has been stated that there are indications by the time of the Third Dynasty, of the coming to Egypt of round-headed men. However, the evidence of skull-shapes is as yet very obscure, and it may be that round-skulled people came to Egypt long before the time of the Third Dynasty.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

ARCHITECTURE

The style of the pyramids and adjacent buildings of the Fourth

¹ Garstang, *loc. cit.*, Plate XXX, no. 20. Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate XV, no. 83 j-k.

² Garstang, *Tombs of the Third Egyptian Dynasty*, Plate XIII, nos. 14 and 15.

³ Brunton, *loc. cit.*, page 15 and Plate XIII, 37 M and N. He describes them as "similar in shape to the stone vessels of late Second or Third Dynasty . . . probably the earliest forms of the well-known Medium style of bowls of polished red ware."

⁴ Dr. Gardiner, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 23, page 4.

⁵ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 235 and 236.

Dynasty is different from the style of the Third Dynasty, and should, perhaps, be considered as of a new kind in Egypt.¹

METHODS OF INTERMENT

Dr. Reisner said that the characteristic type was a "plain shaft substructure, usually with one chamber, entered by a short corridor from the bottom of the shaft, introduced in the reign of Sneferu and universally used throughout Egypt after the accession of Cheops."² This type of tomb continued to be in use during the Fifth Dynasty.³ At the same time, burials under, and occasionally in, pots, continued to be made, possibly only for very poor persons.⁴

POTTERY

The pottery can be summarised as :—

Good quality red polished ware.⁵

Pointed shaped pots of buff-coloured ware.⁶

Spouted pots.⁷

"Medium style" bowls.

Incised decoration begins.⁸

The Fourth Dynasty pyramids could only have been achieved by means of an almost unlimited man-power. It is not unreasonable to connect this with the poverty of the graves of this period, which is shewn by the scarcity of funerary equipment,

¹ The architecture of the Fourth Dynasty is characterised by an artistic style of extreme simplicity, in which there is little trace of the grace and delicacy of the decoration of Third Dynasty work. (See Pfleiderer in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXIII, pp. 7-9). See also, Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, page 121.

² Reisner, *The development of the Egyptian tomb*, page 367.

³ Mr. Brunton, in *Qau and Badari*, I, page 7, refers to some unpublished tombs of this type.

⁴ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 21.

⁵ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 72.

⁶ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Plate LXXX, no. 72 T. This type of pottery is Reisner's "Type VIII with bulging rounded shoulder, tapering pointed base and wide flaring neck with roll-rim around mouth . . . a characteristic form of Dynasties IV and V. As far as I know, it has never been recorded previous to Dynasty IV. The vessels are always of the whitish drab ware ("Keneh ware") or an imitation of that ware. The same form copied in alabaster is one of the common and characteristic types of the stone vessels of Dynasties V and VI." (Reisner, *Mycerinus*, page 214 and fig. 65.)

⁷ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Plate LXXXI, no. 90 J.

⁸ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Plate LXXIX, no. 21 G.

and by the rarity of coffins¹ compared with the numbers that are found in the cemeteries of the subsequent Dynasties. This, however, is contemporary with the beginning of a period during which certain objects already known, but only rarely, in Egypt, occur more commonly than before. Such objects are mirrors,² bevelled rim bowls, tall hollow pottery stands, spouted pots and crumb beads,³ all of which occur also in Mesopotamia. Together with this increase in the use of objects already known there occurs the introduction to Egypt at this time, of some novelties. These include stamp seals of conoid form,⁴ the "fancy cylinder" type of bead, new types of spouted pots (fig. 8 F.) and the use of "combed" incised lines to decorate pottery. All these were known in Mesopotamia, perhaps at the time of the Fourth

¹ Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pp. 104-105.

² Mirrors earlier than the Sixth Dynasty are very rare. Five were found at Qau which may be of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties (Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, Volume I, Plate XXXIX) and three of the Fifth Dynasty were found at Mostagedda (Brunton, *Mostagedda*, page 109).

Sir Flinders Petrie discovered, in Tomb 315 at Sedment, an "undisturbed" burial said by him to be of the latter part of the First Dynasty, containing a copper mirror of "pear-shape." This type of mirror is common at the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. "The only hypothesis to explain this would be to assume that the pear-shaped mirror was used in Syria or elsewhere long before it was customary in Egypt, just as glass was in early use; and that this specimen was an imported product." (Petrie, *Sedment*, Volume I, page 2.) However, Reisner holds a different view as to this mirror, and the tomb wherein it was found. He says, Tomb "No. 315 is a shaft tomb over seven metres deep with a large underground chamber, a type unknown previous to the reign of Sneferu. The vessels and other contents of the tomb are clearly of Dyn. IV, except for a copper mirror, which may be of Dyn. IV, but is certainly not of Dyn. I." (Reisner, *A provincial cemetery of the Pyramid Age*, Naga-ed-Der, Part III, page 170, note 2.) The evidence from Abusir may be in favour of Sir Flinders Petrie's view of the date of the "pear-shaped" mirror, since one of this shape was found in an early context there. (H. Bonnet, *Ein frühgeschichtliches Gräberfeld bei Abusir*, Plate XXXII, no. 3.) Be that as it may, both Petrie and Reisner agree that this mirror may well be not later than the IV Dynasty. It therefore may be reckoned as one of the rare mirrors which antedate the Sixth Dynasty. In another place Reisner, describing the "objects from the later graves Dyn. V-VI" (at Naga ed Der) says:—"Three small copper mirrors were found. These are well known in Dyn. V. and subsequently (see *Mahasna*, Plate XL; *Cat. Gen.*; *Bénédite, Miroirs*; and *Kerma*, IV, page 78)." (Reisner, *Naga ed Der*, III, page 158.)

³ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 74.

⁴ From Tomb 1085 of Mr. Brunton's excavation. In the same tomb were two red polished ware pots, and a bevelled rim bowl. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XLIII. Conoid seals occur in Western Asia (Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres Orientaux* of the Louvre, Vol. I, Plate VI, and Vol. II, Plate CV. In Crete, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I, fig. 90. In Greece, Blegen, *The excavations at Zygouries*, pp. 189 and 214, and *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1923-1924, pp. 162 ff.

Dynasty.¹ All these objects mentioned above occur more and more frequently during the ensuing centuries, and may perhaps be thought to be illustrative of a gradually increasing number of Asiatics in Egypt at this time.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

METHODS OF INTERMENT

Mr. Brunton stated that at the time of the Fifth Dynasty there was a considerable rise in the numbers of flexed bodies in graves, found equally "among rich and poor, and they remain very equally distributed between the two classes in later periods. On the other hand, extended burials are more often of poor in the fifth, but the rich are in considerable majority afterwards."²

It is believed that the Fifth Dynasty saw a considerable increase in the numbers of coffins, especially of wooden ones³ in use.

Dr. Reisner stated that, at a time indicated as the later part of the Fourth Dynasty, "came the introduction of the half-extended or half-contracted position still on the left side with the head generally to the north. The body was usually contained in a long narrow wooden coffin . . . wood was used more freely . . . but this alone would probably not have been sufficient to bring about a change in the burial position. I consider that a change in the preparation of the body for the burial was the real cause of the change in attitude . . . the moment any sort of mummification was undertaken, the body had to be kept in a more or less extended position to give access to the abdominal region."⁴

Mr. Mace said, with regard to the introduction of the extended position, that "there is no reason to suppose that race-difference had anything to do with the variation in position. The real explanation is much simpler—the movement in favour of an extended position of burial was started by the rich and gradually

¹ See Chapter IV.

² Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 52.

³ Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pp. 104-105. Mace and Winlock, in *The tomb of Seneb-tisi* (page 50) said that "rectangular wooden coffins appear in Fifth Dynasty graves, some with exterior inscriptions in horizontal bands and some with eyes on the side." They quote coffins from Sakkara, Deshasheh and Beni-Hasan.

⁴ Reisner, *Naga-ed-dar*, III, page 13. Reisner states that "mummification . . . was in use at court during Dynasty IV."

adopted by the poor "¹" and added that this process could be watched developing at Naga-ed-der.

POTTERY

The pottery² can be summarised as :—

Red polished ware.

Medium style bowls.

Buff coloured pottery common.

Polished "toilet pots."

RELIGION

A story current in New Kingdom days told that Khufu was warned that his throne would pass, after the reigns of his son and grandson, to another family, beginning with triplet sons miraculously begotten by the sun-god and born to the wife of the high-priest of Re at Sakhebu. There seems to be a possibility that this tale is a popular form of description of an actual change, both in the royal line, and also in the constitution of the state. The Fifth Dynasty kings may have caused the sun-god Re to become the state god,³ though they are recorded to have given benefactions to a variety of gods.

The establishment of the sun-god as an important divinity at this time indicates a far-reaching change in Egyptian civilisation. The same is suggested by the appearance of Osiris, who is said to have been first worshipped in Egypt at the time of the Fifth Dynasty.⁴ Mr. Sidney Smith has pointed to the

¹ Mace, *The early dynastic cemeteries of Naga-ed-der*, II, pp. 54 ff.

² See particularly Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 72.

³ Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 1, pp. 201 ff. Mr. Wainwright says:—"The origin of Re is . . . obscure. While apparently he did exist in Pre-dynastic days, he was then extremely unimportant. From the Second Dynasty onwards he began to creep into prominence, but it was not until the Old Kingdom that he began to acquire any importance. But from then onwards his advance was steady. . . . It may be that his worship was mainly a royal religion." Wainwright, *The Sky-religion in Egypt*, page 98.

⁴ Rusch, in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 58, page 124, states that Osiris appears first at about the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, but not as an important funerary deity. According to him, the name of Osiris only precedes that of Anubis in the funerary formulae at the time of the Sixth Dynasty. He gives a list of the titles of Osiris, divided into categories according to the periods of the Fifth Dynasty, the Sixth Dynasty and the Tenth Dynasty. See also, Wainwright, *The Sky-religion in Egypt*, pp. 98-99.

parallels between Osiris and Ashur, and also those between the *tet* tree in Egypt and the Assyrian sacred tree, and he has stated that he believes that Marduk, Ashur and Osiris all arose from a common origin. He adds that it is as well "frankly to admit the possibility, even the probability, of a dependence in very early times of elements of the worship of Ashur on Egyptian belief, or on some intermediate connection between the two."¹

* * * *

Characteristic of the civilisation of the Fifth Dynasty period is a considerable increase in the numbers of seal-amulets, including "buttons"² and beads of a variety of different forms, in graves of that time. Cylinder seals also occur, though infrequently, and common objects are alabaster vases and pointed vessels of buff-coloured pottery. Further, at this time the rare novelties of the preceding Dynastic period are more often found. The evidence of these things (except the alabaster vases), which include such characteristic objects as "buttons," which are new in Egypt, and cylinder seals, which are of Mesopotamian rather than of Egyptian type, seem to suggest that elements of foreign type in Egypt were becoming more numerous. A similar indication is, perhaps, made by the representation of a "scalloped" axe³ at this time,

¹ Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, pp. 123 ff.

² Professor Peet said, of these objects:—"button seals . . . which both in form and in the designs they bear are totally un-Egyptian, but have their parallel in Nearer Asia" (see *European Civilisation*, I, page 461.) For Egyptian examples see Petrie, *Button and design scarabs*, Plate II, and Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XXXII, nos. 34-96. For examples from Western Asia see Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux du Louvre*, Vol. I, Plate XIV. Few examples have been found stratified in Asiatic sites, though there are some from Susa, Tepe Gawra and Tepe Gyan. The Susa examples appear to be of the date of the Nineveh IV period (see pages 50 and 52 of this book), and so do the examples from Gawra, (fig. 7. B.) since at that site they occur in strata (Stratum VI) in which double-headed amulets occur (Speiser, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, Plate XIII, b.1.), precisely similar to amulets (figure 7. A.) which occur in the Nineveh IV stratum at Nineveh (*L.A.A.A.*, XVIII, Plate XXV, nos. 13-27). (Others have been found in Crete, *Ἄρχ. Δελτ. Του 4, παραργημα, σελ 22. εικ8. top row centre.*) This synchronism is confirmed by the occurrence in the Gawra and Nineveh strata referred to, of marble figurines of the traditional Early Cycladic type (Speiser, *loc. cit.*, Plate LIV a., and *L.A.A.A.* XVIII, Plate XXV, no 27, illustrated upside down). See fig. 7. C. and D.

³ Petrie, *Tools and weapons*, Plate VI, no. 1. This type is also known in Egypt at a later date—see page 88 below. Other similar indications are provided by the following:—(1) A metal amulet, of the Fifth Dynasty, found by Mr. Brunton at Qau, was described as "the result of the crude reduction of an arsenical copper ore" (Ridge, in Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 69). It should be noted that

since this type of axe can only be paralleled at this time, or earlier, at Ur and Kish.

As the Fifth Dynasty drew towards its close the Kings of Egypt lost some of their power, so it is supposed, while the nobles and officials, who had already begun to set up biographical inscriptions at the time of the Fourth Dynasty, became stronger, perhaps largely independent of the throne. One of these nobles stated¹ that he collected a force to go out of Egypt, perhaps to Mount Carmel, to fight. Possibly this is an indication of anxiety on the part of Egyptians with regard to the movement of Asiatics towards Egypt.

There is reason to suppose that the Aegean area was visited by Asiatics at about this time, since there appears in that area a variety of seals, known well in West Asia and in Egypt, and also pottery decorated in the light-on-dark style,² which is also known in Asia.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

METHODS OF INTERMENT

The characteristic types of tomb used by the middle and lower classes were the usual simple type, together with shaft graves, of which the shaft was usually oblong, leading to a chamber.

Amulets are rare as early as the time of the Fifth Dynasty, and that objects made from arsenical copper ores are rather frequent in Sumerian deposits, and also occur in Early Bronze Age deposits in the Aegean. (2) A pair of solid wheels on an axle is represented in the Fifth Dynasty tomb at Sakkara of Kæmhesit. They are paralleled on Sumerian objects, such as the Standard from the Royal Cemetery at Ur. (See Clarke and Englebach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, page 88. Their figure 83 is a reproduction of a photograph by the late Mr. Firth.)

¹ Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 101-104. Professor Peet discussed the geographical implications of the statements in this autobiography, and various comments that had been made thereon, in the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1914-1915, pp. 38, 39.

² The "nipple cup" is the characteristic shape of the Asiatic light-on-dark decorated pottery. Pottery and stone examples of this shape have been found in Egypt, dated to the First Intermediate Period (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, Plate XLVI, nos. 183 and 184). Light-on-dark decoration also occurs in Egypt, possibly of the same period (Petrie, *Rifeh*, Plate XIII A., nos. 20 and 24, and pp. 24-25). The nipple-cup shape is equally rare in Crete, where a pottery example has been found at Zakro (but with a handle). (Maraghianis, *Antiquities Cretaises*, Première Serie, Plate XXXII. See also *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1902, Plate XII, and 1903, pp. 249 ff.)

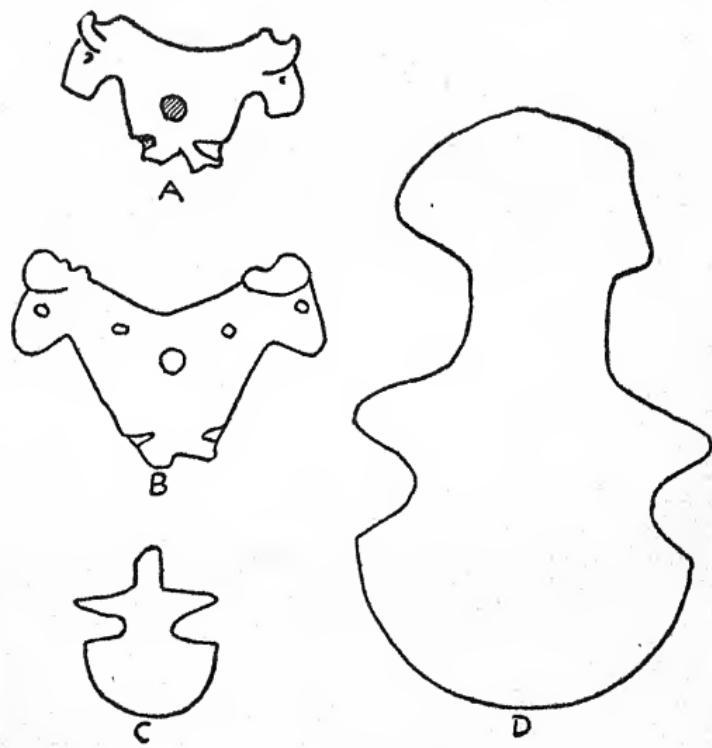


Fig. 7.

NORTH MESOPOTAMIAN AMULETS AND FIGURINES.

ber often on the western side of the shaft.¹ These shaft graves differ from the earlier graves, of which the shafts were usually square, and in which side chambers did not appear. It is usually stated that the system of pot-burials went out of fashion at this time.

While wooden coffins were still common it is thought that coffins of reeds² were introduced at this time.

There is reason to suppose that some tombs with a high vaulted roof were constructed at this period.³ This type of vaulting can be paralleled at Nineveh and Ur.

It is said that, at the time of the Sixth Dynasty, a plaster portrait was occasionally made over the face of a mummy, while sometimes the whole body was covered with stucco.⁴ Masks of cartonnage also appear to have been made as early as this period.

Mr. Firth said that "no uniform rule seems to have been followed in constructing the mastabas and chapels of the Sixth Dynasty and the funerary chambers differ from and are more elaborate than those of the two preceding dynasties, being furnished with lists and representations of offerings which form the models for the coffins of the Heracleopolitan period and of the Middle Kingdom." And again, "The burials of the Sixth dynasty are . . . much more elaborate than are those of the Fourth Dynasty and are the prototypes of those of the Tenth Dynasty."

Mr. Mace said that "among the poorer classes the sharply-contracted burial is universal up to the Sixth Dynasty. From then onwards the contraction becomes gradually less." And again, "Full length burials are absolutely unknown until the Fourth Dynasty at any rate."⁵

¹ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, pp. 45-46.

² Brunton says that a "kind of basket coffin made of reeds or twigs" has been noted as having been used at the time of the Fourth Dynasty in a few graves. (*Mostagedda*, page 105.)

³ Schafer, *Priester graber . . . vom Totentempel des Ne-user-Re*, pp. 3 ff. For the tombs of this type at Nineveh, see *L.A.A.A.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 78-80, and Plate XLVIII, nos. 2 and 3. For the tombs at Ur, see Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, pp. 232-237.

⁴ Junker, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I, page 252.

⁵ Mace, *The Early Dynastic Cemetery of Naga-ed-der*, II, pp. 54 ff.

POTTERY

The pottery of the Sixth Dynasty may be summarised as follows:—

- Angular-sided bowls.
- Rough egg-shaped pots common.
- Jugs with round bottoms and spouts.
- Medium style of bowls rare.
- “Crinkled rims”¹ and wavy incised lines² begin.
- “Drop shapes” begin (fig. 8. B).
- Buff slip ware ends.

A type of vessel new at this time in Egypt, with either a real, or an imitation spout³ is paralleled at Kish.

Mr. Brunton believes that the pottery of the Sixth Dynasty is illustrative of the course of ceramic development which can be traced from the Fifth Dynasty onwards,⁴ and Dr. Reisner has said that “the pottery found in graves of the types assigned to Dynasties Five and Six . . . was not abundant, and like the stone vessels in the same graves was largely of new types.” He also says that “the graves in Naga-d-Der Cemetery N. 500 which follow immediately after those of Dynasty IV contain a series of stone vessels of which a few are of older forms but the majority of an entirely new group. The two chief forms of the new group . . . both have a tapering body with pointed or small flat base, but differ in the shape of the neck and mouth. One form has a collar neck of characteristic outline while the other has a tall conical (inverted cone) neck with well defined rim. . . . It is generally agreed that these types are of dynasties VI-VII and range perhaps from Dynasty V to VIII.”⁵ (See fig. 8. C. of this book and compare with fig. 8. E. from Cyprus). Mr. Brunton says that he can only believe that there is no sign of new ideas in ceramics during the post Fifth Dynasty period, and that “the Syrian invaders who are thought to have ruled the

¹ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Plate LXXXVIII, nos. 91 C. and 94 T.

² Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Plate LXXXIV, no. 36 Q and Plate LXXXVIII, No. 93 K.

³ For the Kish parallel see Mackay, *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology, Memoirs*, Vol. I, Plates IX-X, and page 22.

⁴ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, page 75.

⁵ Reisner, *Naga-d-Der*, III, page 56.

country in the VII-VIII Dynasties brought no new forms with them, or else never extended their settlement as far as Qau."¹ However one looks at the evidence, one thing is certain—there were ceramic innovations at some time during the Old Kingdom period, though it is not known whether that time was in the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties.

AMULETS

Dr. Reisner said that "the corpus of forms presented by the amulets of... Dynasties V-VI... presents about thirty apparently new forms" including "the scarab beetle... the sacred eye, the human hand and the human foot... the human face and the human fist... I draw the conclusion that the use of necklace amulets appears to have taken a great development for the first time here in Dynasty Five—the introduction of the amulet necklace took place early in dynasty five and continued throughout Egyptian history."²

* * * *

During the period of the Sixth Dynasty, a great variety of amulets, seal-amulets and beads is found, while mirrors and alabaster vases are common in the graves. Introductions at this time are thought to include many different types of amulets, true button-amulets with a shank, animal-shaped seals in ivory and model copper vases. The general effect is that of a still further increase in the numbers and varieties of objects which have foreign analogies, and also with an increase in the standard of living. At the same time, however, the whole spirit of traditional Egyptian civilisation changed, with the sinking of the new monarchy into obscurity.

It is interesting to observe that, of the nearly contemporary establishment of the Gutian dynasty in Mesopotamia, it has been said that the "institution of Kingship was foreign to the Gutians."³

THE SEVENTH DYNASTY

Manetho states that there was a Seventh Dynasty, and that the seventy kings of it ruled for a total of seventy days.

¹ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, page 4.

² Reisner, *Naga-ed-der*, III, page 141.

³ Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, page 99.

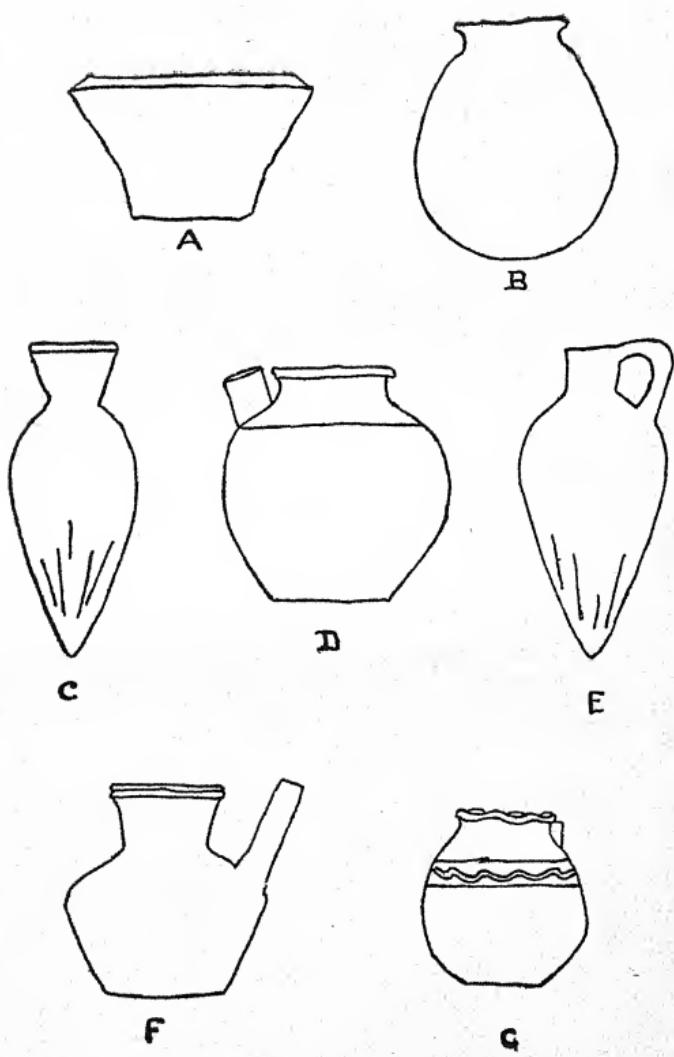


Fig. 8

SOME PIECES OF EGYPTIAN POTTERY

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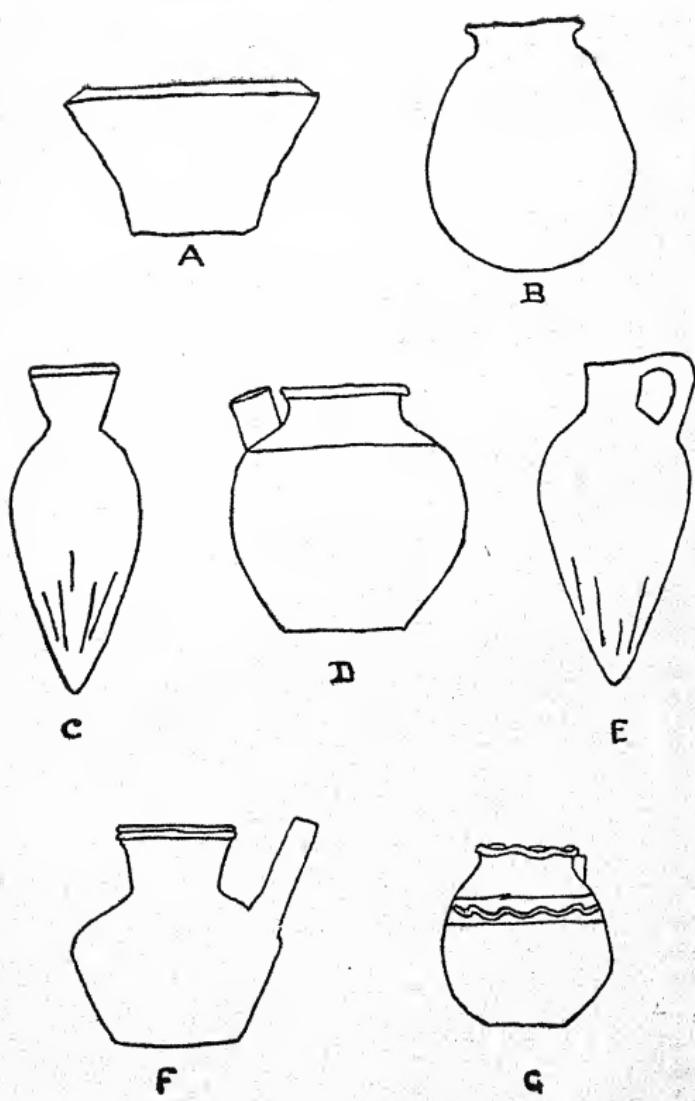


Fig. 8
SOME PIECES OF EGYPTIAN POTTERY

THE EIGHTH DYNASTY

The Abydos King list gives seventeen Kings to this dynasty, but the Turin list gives only eight. Manetho gives eighteen. The Sakkara list ignores the whole period between Pepi II and the Eleventh Dynasty.

A new type of grave became common at this time—a grave with an end-on chamber. At the same time, the old style of making the tombs with side-chambers fell into disuse. Similarly, various different types of object, such as crumb beads and pyramid shaped seal-amulets were only rarely made after the close of this period. The same is probably true of the bevelled rim bowls. On the other hand, it is at this time that blue glazed vases appear, and scarabs are first made.¹ Mr. Brunton believes that there were, at this period, a large number of gold ornaments, mirrors, alabaster vases, alabaster head-rests, amulets, seal-amulets and beads. With this, however, Sir Flinders Petrie did not agree.²

THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES

The Abydos King-List gives for this period names of kings otherwise unknown. The Turin King-List appears to mention eighteen kings. Manetho says that there was a Ninth and Tenth Dynasty at Heracleopolis.

During the later part of the first intermediate period, so it is believed, the tombs were of the same type, with end-on chambers, as had been made during the earlier part of that period. Masks of cartonnage also were still in use. But there are signs of poverty, compared with the standard of civilisation (in Mr. Brunton's opinion) enjoyed during the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties. Mirrors become rare, for example, and so do alabaster vases. Alabaster head-rests are no longer made, and "buttons" disappear. But a variety of different kinds of seal-amulets, amulets and beads are still in use, while finger rings make their first appearance of Dynastic times. In the case of pottery, poor

¹ Sir Flinders Petrie taught that scarabs were made in Egypt as early as the time of the Fourth Dynasty.

² Sir Flinders Petrie in *Qau and Badari*, I, page 79.

"drop shaped" vessels, (fig. 8. B.) frequently with spouts, or dummy spouts, (fig. 8. G.) and incised decoration, are common. Occasionally such vessels are also decorated with pellets. Tall stands are more common than previously, but the formerly popular wash employed to decorate pottery is discontinued.

METHODS OF INTERMENT

Characteristic of the Heracleopolitan period are "painted coffins, sometimes with elaborately decorated exteriors, and interiors almost always covered with representations of the various burial offerings; boat models and groups of servants engaged in various household vocations; *nabuts* and bows;"¹ all of which are dated to "occur first at the close of the Old Kingdom, and" to "attain their height of popularity during the Ninth-Eleventh Dynasty period. They run over into the Twelfth Dynasty. . . but only in the poorer tombs, or in provincial districts."²

LITERATURE

Professor Griffith pointed out, of the mastaba inscriptions from Dendereh of this period, that "the hieroglyphs . . . are interesting in a quite peculiar way. Often they are rather well formed, though with a certain barbaric tendency; but on close examination it will be observed that individual signs, while bearing a general resemblance to the ordinary types, are in fact very different. Thus . . . the crab is substituted for the scarabaeus . . . the handled basket—usually *k*—for the plain basket *neb*."³ He suggests that such a state might well be due to a great deterioration in the art of engraving monumental inscriptions.

Professor Gunn has stated that "a feature which will escape no reader is the persistence of the Old Kingdom Memphite tradition in the more ambitious monuments through the political chaos of the first intermediate period into the Middle Kingdom. The

¹ Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebisi*, pp. 114-115.

² Mace and Winlock, *loc. cit.*, page 116, and see also *loc. cit.* pp. 51, 52. See on this point also, Firth, in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemetery*, pp. 43, 44, and 58.

³ Griffith in Petrie, *Dendereh*, page 53. The peculiarities referred to are more noticeable at Dendereh than elsewhere during the First Intermediate period.

first intermediate stelæ perpetuate, with but little modification, the style of the Sixth Dynasty."¹ There are modifications though (as allowed by Professor Gunn), which have been described by Rusch.²

Another interesting point about the literature of this period is the fact that a group of the Pyramid texts are used at this time for the coffins of ordinary persons. Since these were possibly used only for royal persons before the first intermediate period, this fact may be considered to indicate that the old forms and traditions had been destroyed.

More interesting than the details quoted above, however, is the fact that it was at this period that there appeared a variety of literary compositions, some of which are unusual in style, as well as being very fine. One of them, "The instruction for King Merykare" is perhaps not of a new type, but "The complaints of the Peasant" is markedly different from the literature known previously. Other compositions of this period are some of the "letters to the dead," of which Dr. Gardiner has said that therein "we can detect an unmistakable tinge of bitterness. Indeed, these letters belong to the few documents betraying genuine feeling which have survived to us from ancient Egypt."³ These also represent a new style.

WEAPONS

Weapons are rather commonly met with at this time in Egypt. Some of them have parallels with Asiatic weapons. For example, the scalloped axe type (fig. 9. D.) of which examples were found at Kish and in the Royal Cemetery at Ur, has been found in Egypt, in deposits of this period.⁴ So also have examples of a long dagger, or sword⁵ of a type known in Armenia,⁶ Cyprus⁷ and Crete.⁸ This type of dagger is always made with a short tang, not long

¹ Gunn in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, page 87.

² Rusch in *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 58, page 116.

³ Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the dead*, page 2.

⁴ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XXXVIII, no. 12.

⁵ Brunton, *loc. cit.*, Plate XXXVIII, nos. 1-4 and page 59.

⁶ See page 96, III.

⁷ C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre*, Plate XXIII, no. 5.

⁸ Xanthoudides, *The vaulted tombs of Mesara*, Plate LV, no. 1902 and 1930. A sword of this type, of Middle Minoan I date, was found at Mallia.

enough to give a grip, which no doubt would have formed the basis of a handle. The same type of dagger, but made of iron, was found at Qau, though not in a grave or tomb.¹ Mr. Brunton, who found it, believes it to be modern, but the chief reason for this opinion is, perhaps, not convincing.²

ARCHITECTURE

The Wahka B. tomb may be of this period. It is of the rare type constructed on two levels, a type found also in Crete and possibly at Ras Shamra, at a later date.

ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

The decoration of the Wahka B. tomb has been described as "finer than in any painting of the Twelfth Dynasty" and "the starting-point for the new style."³ There are motifs in the decoration of this tomb⁴ which, while not previously known in Egypt, had been employed elsewhere at what might be considerably earlier dates. These motifs may be of Asiatic origin.

MISCELLANEOUS

(1) An inscription of a King Khety, who may have been a king of the Heracleopolitan period, mentions that one of the royal

¹ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XLII, no. 200 (in the middle of the plate).

² He states that "iron bangles of the Roman age found here were eaten away with rust, while the dagger is almost clean." The degree of decay of metal objects is, however, extremely variable, and may be no guide. For example, at Sedment, in tomb 560 (II Dynasty) "the condition of the copper bowls is astonishing, most of the surface being merely blackened with age, and ringing when struck, like new metal. The surface fully shewed its original polish." While of an object from tomb 314 there (? II Dynasty) "the copper bowl was so completely rusted that it broke into chips by the mere vibration of travelling" (Petrie, *Sedment*, I. For another example of iron of approximately this date, see Brunton in *Annales du Service*, XXXV, pp. 214 ff.

³ Petrie, *Antæopolis*, page 14. Some authorities do not think that the Wahka B. tomb is as early as the Heracleopolitan period, as for example Steindorff (in Steckeweh, *Die Furstengräber von Qau*.) Mr. Wainwright points out similarities to two of the Asyut tombs (in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 24, pp. 143-145), one of which is the tomb of Hap-Zefi, which may be earlier than the time of Senusert I. (See Wainwright in *Annales du Service*, XXVI, pp. 160 ff.)

⁴ For example, the spiral and a particular type of rosette (fig. 9 c). The spiral is commonly used in the Aegean during the third millennium. It was also used at Mari (north-central Mesopotamia) in fresco-work, during the third millennium (*Syria*, 1937, pp. 54 ff and *Illustrated London News*, 1936, pp. 759-763). The rosette referred to occurs in the Astrabad Treasure, and in the Aegean, some of the occurrences being certainly of the third millennium.

titles was "servant of" a deity called Hry ſ f.,¹ the god of Heracleopolis. The phrase "servant of" a god is not otherwise known

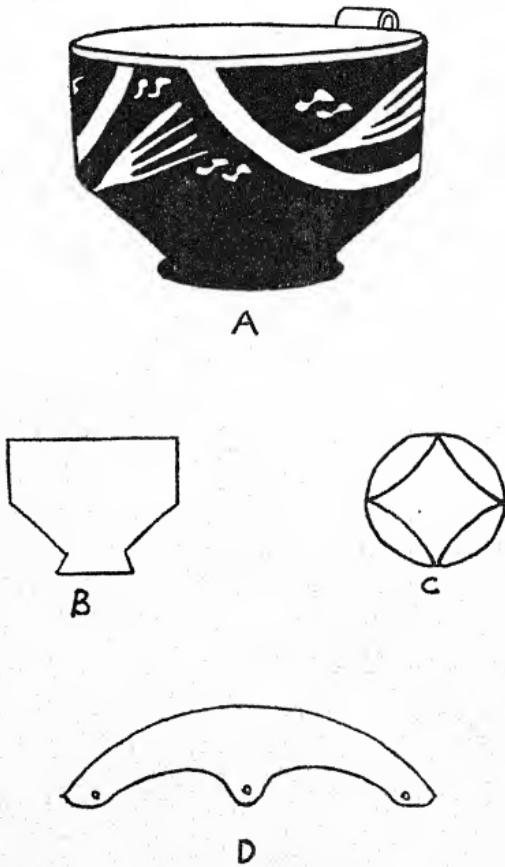


Fig. 9

LATE THIRD MILLENNIUM POTTERY, DECORATIVE MOTIF AND AXE-HEAD
in Egypt, before the New Kingdom. It is, however, a fairly common title in Mesopotamia.

(2) A type of pottery cup described as characteristic of the

¹ Daressy in *Annales du Service*, XI, pp. 47-48.

Heracleopolitan epoch¹ (fig. 9.B) is of the same shape as a type of cup common in the Aegean at the end of the third millennium.² (fig. 9.A).

(3) Pottery models of houses appear at this time in Egypt,³ and also are known in Mesopotamia, in the "G" stratum at Assur.⁴

* * *

It has been said that the victory of the Thebans of the Eleventh Dynasty over the Heracleopolitans was a disaster for Egypt, from the intellectual and artistic point of view.⁵ At no time is it likely that the same pitch of vivacity, originality and imagination was attained, at least so far as may be judged by literary evidence.

During the time of the Eleventh Dynasty it is supposed that the Asiatics who had entered Egypt during the First Intermediate Period were driven from the country.⁶ It is also possible that the rise of the Thebans, and the reconstruction of the kingship over the whole country indicates a revival of a nationalistic spirit.

¹ Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, I, Plate XXIX, no. 30. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Plate XIII A. B. C.

² Bosanquet and Dawkins, *Palaiastro*, Plate IV F., and Plate V A and D. B.S.A., *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Plate XXXVI, 6 and 10.

³ See references given by Wainwright in *Annales du Service*, XXVI, page 162.

⁴ André, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur*, pp. 34-38, and figs. 4-8, and Plates 10-17.

⁵ Professor Peet, in *European Civilisation*, Volume I, page 461. The Third Dynasty of Ur is dated by Mr. Sidney Smith to 2277-2170 B.C., and he has said of that period that "there is reason to believe, from the extent of rule of these kings, the commercial activity to which the business documents of the period bear testimony, and the broken remnants of the material civilisation unearthed by excavations, that this was the most brilliant epoch of Babylonian civilisation." (*Early History of Assyria*, pp. 129-130.) These two contemporary periods were, then, in their respective countries, both of exceptionally high achievement.

⁶ There is no evidence that the Asiatics ever were expelled from Egypt. In any case it is not very likely that their influence could have been expelled, since they probably intermarried with Egyptians and, unless the children of such marriages also were expelled, Asiatic blood would remain in the country. *Per contra*, Asiatic produce probably entered Egypt at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty. For example, bronze (some of the tin used in early days may well have been of Asiatic origin) and obsidian and such objects as the jewellery of the Dahshur treasure and some of the pottery found at Kahun. For obsidian, see the paper by Mr. Wainwright in *Ancient Egypt*, 1927, pp. 77-93, and for bronze see Mr. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Volume XX, pp. 29-32, and also Mr. Lucas in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, pp. 174-181 and pp. 404-405. It may be noted that both these experts are satisfied that the materials under discussion suddenly become commonly used at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, and Mr. Wainwright has demonstrated that obsidian was very probably imported into Egypt from sources in or near Armenia.

With regard to the Dahshur treasure (of the time of Amenemhat II), it may be noted that hardly any of the pieces found at that place are even remotely

The Twelfth Dynasty reigned during a period which seems to have been more peaceful, and more civilised, than that of the Eleventh Dynasty. Although at this time one passes beyond the Third Millennium, there are certain details believed to be characteristic of the Middle Kingdom, which should be considered in this place. The first is that at this time can be seen the rise of a "middle class." This, so it is said, may be seen in the complicated systems of lower grades of state officials and domestic officials. Again, it is believed that a considerable change in religious ideas occurred at this time, this being shewn by the great interest in the Osiris myth on the part of the populace. A kind of "passion play" of this myth may have been acted, possibly in boats, on a lake.⁷

like jewellery known from elsewhere in Egypt. Many pieces are of granulated gold, which is not known as an Egyptian technique as early as the twentieth century B.C., except at Dahshur, though known as early as about 2500 B.C. at Troy (Schliemann, *Ilios*, page 489, fig. 840; Troy II, 2, treasure) and at Hagios Onuphrios in Crete (Evans, *Cretan Pictographs*, page 109, fig. 94). Granulation of a sort also occurs at Ur, at the time of the Royal Cemetery (Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, Plates 151, 152). Gold rings with flat oval bezels, not unlike rings of the Aegean area, occurred at Dahshur, and also pendants with the rosette design which has already been mentioned above (fig. 9.C.). Another link between the Dahshur jewellery and Aegean work is in painted crystal, which occurs both at Dahshur (*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*, Tome 36, fasc. 3, pp. 197-200) and in Crete (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Volume III, Plate XIX, and fig. 60, page 109) and also in the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae (about 1600 B.C.) and later in Egypt. Some of the jewellery found at Dahshur is like Cretan work, but it is difficult to agree with G. Möller (*Die Metallkunst des Alten Agypten*) that these Egyptian objects were made under Cretan influence, since evidence for that statement is scanty. Moreover, designs and granulated technique are older, it appears, in Asia than in Crete. It would be much safer to say that the Dahshur jewellery may be, partly at least, Asiatic in style. Sir Arthur Evans does not claim Cretan influence in these objects, which belong to styles which have a much longer history outside Egypt than within that country.

The Kahun pottery includes sherds (that shew the rosette, fig. 9. C, already quoted) which are certainly not of Egyptian, or Aegean ceramic fabrics, and a fragment of a vessel of "Imitation Kamares" ware, supposed to be of Anatolian origin (Petrie, *Ilahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Plate I, Nos. 2 and 1, and Forsdyke, *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, Volume I, Part I, fig. 115, no. A. 567). It also includes "punctured" ware and "Syrian type" jugs (Petrie, *loc. cit.*, Plate I, nos. 16-22), which types of ware are likely to be Asiatic in origin.

⁷ Professor Peet, in *A comparative study of the literatures of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia*, pp. 50, 51. He refers to (1) H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, in Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, Band IV; (2) K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*, (I), in *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, Band. X. I.; (3) K. Sethe, *loc. cit.* 2 in *Untersuchungen Band X* 2 (4) Drioton, "Une scène des mystères d'Horus" in *Revue de l'Egypte ancienne*, II, pp. 172 ff.

A similar dramatic element in Babylonian religion is discussed by (1) Weber, "Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier" (*Der Alte Orient*, Ergänzungsband II), pp. 32, 33; (2) Zimmern, *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, III, page 16.

It is, perhaps, possible to think that the social and religious changes of this time are such as might easily have occurred. But this may be open to question. For example, it is often said that the rise of the middle class in the social structure may be connected with the centralisation of power which occurred during the Middle Kingdom. But it must have been a remarkably rapid development in that case, for it is believed that it was only towards the close of the Eleventh Dynasty that a stable government was set up in Egypt. Again, with regard to the popularity of the cult of Osiris during the Middle Kingdom. This certainly becomes evident during the time of the Middle Kingdom (when there was an increase in the quantity of information given on stelæ, and also a development in the number of subjects of interest, and the attention given to them), but does not, and could not, mean that Osiris had not been, before the time of the Middle Kingdom, a popular god. It may be that such changes in social and religious views should not be considered as "characteristic" of the Twelfth Dynasty, but rather as the results of developments which began long before that time.

* * * * *

The implications of the material noted above may be summarised as follows:—

SUMMARY

From before the time of the First Dynasty there were people in Egypt who made, or imported, objects of Asiatic rather than of Egyptian type. These people were visitors to Egypt from Western Asia, and were the forerunners of those who came in numbers, with a high civilisation, at the time of the establishment of the First Dynasty. These latter folk included relatives of peoples who spread also to Cyprus and the Aegean.

At the time of the Third Dynasty a new, and highly competent people, came to Egypt. These folk were quickly followed by yet another band of people, who also imposed their particular type of civilisation on Egypt, at the time of the Fourth Dynasty. These people, who seem to have been the first group of several who caused a great, and long-drawn-out infiltration to Egypt, had considerable material wealth, though they seem not to have been so

artistically competent, in architecture at least, as their immediate forerunners. Relations of these people can also be traced in the Aegean area.

At a little later date (of the Sixth Dynasty) there occurred the arrival of the first of the people who were later to create the civilisation of the Heracleopolitan period. They were related to a folk, a branch of whom lived at Kish in Mesopotamia. The civilisation they eventually made in Egypt was characterised by great vivacity and variety, and also by remarkable naturalness.

CONCLUSION

Cultural changes seem to have followed each other on a very considerable scale, and rapidly, throughout the Third Millennium, in Egypt. Some of these, no doubt, may have been due to purely local conditions, or to native invention. Yet others certainly were not, but were due to the arrival of foreigners in Egypt from other lands. However, it is difficult to estimate where to draw the line between native development and foreign influence, in Egypt, or for that matter, in any part of the Ancient World. And it is very easy to exaggerate the claims for either side. The answer to so complex a problem is to survey the whole of the Ancient World over a very long period, and for this we may not be sufficiently well equipped. But, however that may be, it is likely that evidence from prehistoric material will never be complete enough to enable us to speak decisively about Egypt, or indeed any single civilisation, unless it be treated, not as an individual entity, but as a part of a much bigger whole.

CHAPTER VI

NORTH PERSIAN AND ARMENIAN PARALLELS WITH OTHER LANDS DURING THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

There are many parallels between objects found in the North Persian—Armenian area, and in other lands, of pre-historic date. Some of the more interesting are described in this chapter.

ARMS AND ARMOUR

In the Talish area of Azerbaijan, M. J. de Morgan found, in graves, examples of the following :—

(I) The type of dagger with a handle, at the end of which is a crescent-shaped strip of metal.¹

A similarly shaped dagger, with a gold hilt, was found in the grave of Mes-Kalam-Dug in the Royal Cemetery at Ur.² Another example of this shape was found in Egypt, of mid-twelfth Dynasty date.³ A wooden model of this shape was found in a Heracleopolitan, or middle Kingdom cemetery in Egypt.⁴ The same shape occurs on the reliefs of Yazili Kaya, in central Anatolia.

(II) The type of dagger with a central rib to the blade and an inlaid handle enclosed by a flanged tang. This weapon, which is sometimes long enough to be described as a sword, has a right-angled shoulder to the blade, where the blade and hilt join.⁵

Swords and daggers of this type were found in the Shaft

¹ J. de Morgan. *Mission scientifique en Perse*, IV, fig. 56, no. 9 and fig. 62, no. 7. An example from the Koban is illustrated in *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, VIII, Plate X, no. 1.

² Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, Plate CLII.

³ Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, Plate XXXIII D.4 and E. Vernier, "Catalogue du Musée du Caire, Bijoux et Orfèvrerie", pp. 324-325 and Plate LXXIV.

⁴ *Annales du Service*, XII, page 105.

⁵ R. W. Hutchinson in *Iraq*, I, pp. 163 ff, and Plate XXII.

Graves at Mycenæ.¹ Similar weapons have been found in Egypt, and of these Mr. Wainwright has said² that the earlier examples do not have a mid-rib in the blade, nor a divided hilt (with what Mr. Hutchinson calls "swellings" in the handle). Later examples,³ however, he believes to have both a mid-rib, and a "divided handle." This latter feature, as Mr. Hutchinson has pointed out, "reminds us of the swords from Mouliana and Gezer and Ras Shamra."

(III) The type of rapier with rounded shoulders and short tang.⁴ Mr. Hutchinson has observed that this type is that of the "familiar Minoan type that began with the Middle Minoan I sword from Mallia and lasted into the Late Bronze Age."⁵ Though the sword is a very rare weapon to find in Egypt, there are two swords (and two daggers) from there of this shape, of the First Intermediate Period in date.⁶ The so-called "Cypriote" form of sword, which is somewhat similar to this type, is also found, rarely, in Egypt.⁷ It has also been found in the area west of the Caspian sea.⁸

In addition to the above,

(IV) The "scolloped" axe-head has been found in the Luristan area of Persia.⁹

This type is known in Egypt, at the time of the Fifth Dynasty,¹⁰ and later, during the first intermediate period.¹¹ It has also been

¹ Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*.

² Wainwright in *Annales du Service*, XXV, pp. 135 ff.

³ Such weapons are:—B.M. 5425. The dagger with a cartouche of Apophis I (a Hyksos king), published by W. R. Dawson in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XI, pp. 216-217 and Plate XXV. Mr. Hutchinson says that the earliest dagger of this type, which has an inlaid flanged handle, is "that of Nhmn, the servant of Apepi I, found at Dahshur. . . ." See, however, Daressy in *Annales du Service*, VII, pp. 115 ff.

⁴ J. de Morgan. *Mission scientifique en Perse*, IV, fig. 56, nos. 1-4.

⁵ Hutchinson, in *Iraq*, I, page 167. Examples of this type have also been found in the Mesara and in Cyprus.

⁶ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XXXVIII, nos. 1-4.

⁷ Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, Plate XXXIV D. 41.

⁸ *Délégation en Perse*, VIII, pp. 251 ff.

⁹ *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, IX, page 63.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, Plate VI, no. 1.

¹¹ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XXXVIII, no. 12.

found in the Royal Cemetery of Ur,¹ and at Kish.²

(V) The type of shield which, when held upright, has a horizontal base, vertical sides and a pointed top, is illustrated on a relief found at Kharput.³

This type is rare in the ancient world, but is illustrated in Egypt, in a tomb⁴ and by a model,⁵ both of the Heracleopolitan period.⁶ A somewhat similarly shaped shield is illustrated on a gold signet ring from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenæ.⁷

JEWELLERY

(I) The type of bead which consists of a short tube with a flat spiral strip on each side of each end, occurs in Azerbaijan.⁸

Similar beads have been found in the strata of Troy II 2,⁹ in the Shaft graves at Mycenæ¹⁰ and at Alacahuyuk in central Anatolia. A similar bead has been found in north Syria.¹¹ There is also one in the Cairo museum.

(II) The types of pin with a "rolled head" and with a figure of a bird on the head, occur in the Armenian area.

Both types occur in the Aegean.¹²

¹ Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, page 306 and Plate CCXXIV, and Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal*, IX, page 308.

² Mackay, *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Memoirs*, I, Part I, Plate XVII, no. 8.

³ Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien, einst und jetzt*, Volume I, page 476.

⁴ W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altgyptischen Heeres*, fig. 10, and Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, 15.

⁵ *Le Musée Egyptien* (recueil des Monuments), Vol. I, Plates XXXIII-XXXVI and pp. 30 ff, and Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* . . . I, nos. 257 and 258.

⁶ There is a similarly shaped shield (a painted wood model, part of the equipment of model boat from a grave), illustrated by Quibell in *Sakkara*, II, page 76, and Plate XXVI, no. 16. This model probably dates from the period between the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties.

⁷ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, fig. 513.

⁸ J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, IV, fig. 85, no. 12.

⁹ Schliemann, *Ilios*, page 489, fig. 836, etc.

¹⁰ Karo, *Die Schachgräber von Mykenai*, Plate XXI, nos. 56 ff.

¹¹ Mallowan in *The Illustrated London News*, October 22, 1938, page 734, fig 3.

¹² For the pin with a rolled head see Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*, pp. 166-167, and Plate XXV, where references are given to similar pins found elsewhere. A similarly shaped pin was found in Egypt (Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*, Plate LXV, 15). An example from the Caucasus is illustrated in *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, VIII, Plate XXII, no. 3. Dr. Lamb discusses the pin with a bird-shaped head in the same place. An example from Russian Armenia is published by J. de Morgan in *Mission scientifique au Caucase*, I, fig. 98.

(III) Metal strips, usually stated to be belts (to go round the waist) have been found in the Caucasus area, and in Russian Armenia.¹ These objects are decorated by engraving² and by repoussé work, frequently with naturalistic designs illustrating men and animals.

Part of a similar belt has been found in the Aegean.³

(IV) The type of seal which is formed by a flat square base, on the top of which is carved the figure of an animal, has been found in the Caucasus.⁴

This type occurs in Crete⁵ and Egypt.⁶

THE ASTRABAD TREASURE⁷

In the tell of Astrabad, at the southern end of the Caspian sea, and not very far from Azerbaijan, there was found the famous Astrabad treasure.⁷ The objects found have been described as being of Sumerian workmanship. This is not altogether convincing. The most Sumerian in effect of the objects is a tumbler shaped cup, of gold, decorated "in relief." The decoration includes the representation of figures, of which Rostovtzeff said,⁸ "the technique and the style of the figures, and then the long hooked noses, the fleshy ears, the clean-shaven heads and faces—such precisely are the features that characterise the ancient Kings and other inhabitants of Lagash . . . no less typical and characteristically Sumerian are the postures and costumes of the figures.

¹ J. de Morgan, *Mission au Caucase*, I, pp. 157 ff, and figs. 145 and 182 ff.

² de Morgan said that the engraver used a "burin triangulaire" (J. de Morgan, *loc. cit.*, page 157).

³ "Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογικη," 1899, Plate 10, no. 1. The type of spiral decoration on one of these Armenian belts is the same as that on an engraved schist axe-head, found at Mallia in Crete, which dates from the Early Minoan III–Middle Minoan I period (Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, pp. 274 ff). See Hancar in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, IX, fig. 5, for the Armenian example.

⁴ *Comptes Rendus* (Otchet) of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission, 1896, page 141, no. 497.

⁵ Xanthoudides, *The vaulted tombs of Mesara*, Plate XIII, no. 1044, and Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Volume I, fig. 87, no. 2a.

⁶ Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, Plate XXXIII, nos. 118 ff.

⁷ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Volume VI, pp. 4 ff.

⁸ Rostovtzeff, in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Volume VI, pp. 9–11.

"The figure with the arms outstretched is clad in the typical Sumerian petticoat, found on nearly all the figures representing ancient Sumerians. . . ." But parallels with "Sumerian" styles of design, though undeniable, do not make the tumbler "Sumerian." There are several things about it which, as Rostovtzeff says, are not "Sumerian." For example, he says,¹ "The general composition of the scene depicted on the goblet is not really clear. Bode mentions lions and cypresses," (Bode made the sketches and original description of the treasure in 1844), "but the reproduction of trees in such a connection is hardly probable. The introduction of elements of landscape on Sumerian reliefs belongs to a later time, not earlier than the period of Sargon and Naram-Sin, when the type of costumes and features had changed to a great extent and there was very little left in common with the type of clothing and features of Lagash in the period of Ur-Nina and Eannatum." He then suggests that Bode was wrong. Bode, however, is the only person who not only wrote about these objects, but who also saw them, and is surely the most likely person to be right. If so, as Rostovtzeff says, the combination of trees and Sumerian-like figures is a non-Sumerian element in the decoration of the cup. Other non-Sumerian details about the cup are as follows. There are no known tumbler-shaped cups decorated in relief from Mesopotamia. Nor is the type of animal described by Bode as a lion, known on Mesopotamian objects. Nor is the man with a kilt, and an axe-like weapon on his shoulder. In fact, while there are parallels to be found with "Sumerian" art, there are also differences from it, in this object.

There were two globe-shaped vessels of gold found at Astrabad. One had a long spout from the side, the other no spout, and both had a circular opening at the top. The spouted vessel was decorated with birds, drawn in a naturalistic manner, and rosettes in the form of a circular centre with radiating petals. The other vessel was decorated with another form of rosette,² which is known in Crete and Egypt towards the end of the Third Millennium.

The only close parallels in shape are with the spouted vessel, for similarly-shaped vessels of pottery have been found in northern

¹ Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*

² As on Fig. 9. C. of this book.

Persia. The rosette motifs of the decoration are paralleled in Egypt. The rosette found on the spouted vessel has its counterpart on the palette of Narmer, and also appears, as Rostovtzeff has pointed out, on the Hierakonpolis mace-heads, and on the gold handle of a flint knife. The same type of rosette appears on some seals found in Crete, and belonging, in all probability, to the Third Millennium.¹ The other type of rosette, as found on the other Astrabad vessel, appears in the decoration of Cretan pottery, from as early as the Early Minoan III period.² It also occurs in Egypt, used in wall decoration, on pottery and also in metal,³ during and after the latter part of the Third Millennium.

Two figurines, of a type well-known in the Near East, and especially so in the Aegean,⁴ were found in the Astrabad treasure. Two-pronged forks were also discovered, and these also have been found elsewhere, as for example in the Royal Cemetery at Ur.⁵ There were also two axe-adzes, and these again are paralleled elsewhere at an early date, for such an object has been found in an Early Minoan II deposit in Crete.⁶ Figurines of the same type as these from Astrabad, two-pronged forks and the axe-adze have all been found at Tepe Hissar⁷ (see Appendix below).

METHODS OF BURIAL

Several different methods are known in the Armenian area. Sometimes the corpse was placed in a kind of box, of which the sides, and sometimes the top and bottom, were formed by slabs of stone. When this method was used, the body was sometimes extended, and sometimes contracted. Burials were also made

¹ Xanthoudides, *The vaulted tombs of Mesara*, Plate VIII, no. 653, Plate XIII, no. 1129, Plate XIV, no. 1094 and no. 1068.

² Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, IV, pp. 92-93, and figs. 58 and 59.

³ Deir-el-Gabrawi, I, Plate VII, and later, in the Wahka B tomb (Petrie, *Anteopolis*). See Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Plate I, for pottery examples, and Vernier, *Catalogue des Bijoux et Orfèveries du Musée du Caire* for metal examples.

⁴ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 47 ff.

⁵ Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, Plate CCXXX, No. U. 15313.

⁶ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, page 101, and II, page 629, note 3. An axe-adze was also found at Maikop, see *Comptes Rendus* (Otchet) of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission, 1897, page 9 no. 35.

⁷ Schmidt, in the *Philadelphia Museum Journal*, XXIII, Plate CXXXII for the figurines, Plate CXX for the fork, and Plate CXVIII for the axe-adze.

under, or in, inverted pithoi.¹ This latter method is found all over the Near East.² It was employed in Egypt during the Early Dynastic Period, at a time when burials in larnakes were also made.³ Such pottery larnakes have not been found in Armenia, but appear in Mesopotamia⁴ and in Crete⁵ where they are used for a long period, subsequent to about 2400 B.C. (Larnax burials and Pithos burials are contemporary in Crete). Another type of interment in Armenia was to place the corpse in a built tomb of rectangular plan (only stone examples are known) with a corbel vaulted roof.⁶ Such vaulted stone built tombs are found in Egypt and at Ur, belonging perhaps to the earlier part of the Third Millennium. The bee hive type of vaulted tomb (on a square base) is also known, in South Russia,⁷ and this type may possibly be considered to be connected with the well-known bee hive tombs on a round base in Crete.⁸ Lastly, the curious ground-plan of the tomb of Hepzefa I, at Asyut,⁹ which is similar to the plan of the

¹ J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase*, I, fig. 21.

² In Egypt: de Morgan, *Origines de l'Egypte*, II, fig. 470. etc. Quibell, *El Kab*, pp. 4 ff. In Crete: Seager, *The Cemetery of Pachyammos, Crete*, pp. 9 ff. and Xanthoudides, *The vaulted tombs of Mesara*, page 55. In western Anatolia: *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, 1900, page 269, and 1901, pp. 810 ff. In Mesopotamia, Mackay, *Excavations at Kish*, page 130. It is possible that the burials under the so-called "dish-covers" found by Woolley at Ur (*The Royal Cemetery*, page 138) should be considered to be a variant of the burial under a pitos.

³ de Morgan, *Origines de l'Egypte*, II, pp. 137, 138 and figs. 467 and 468. Also Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*, Plate III, and Ayrton and Loat, *El Mahasna*, Plate VII, no. 38 (possibly of the Pre-dynastic period) and Quibell, *El Kab*, pp. 4 ff.

⁴ At Ur, rarely at the time of the Royal Cemetery, and more frequently later. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery* page 138. At Kish, a larnax for a child, said to be of the "Hammurabi period" was found. It is no. 1932.974 in the Ashmolean Museum.

⁵ Seager, *The Cemetery of Pachyammos, Crete*.

⁶ J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase*, I, figs. 5 and 6. See also, *American Journal of Archaeology*, first series, Vol. VI (1890), page 286, for a corbel-vaulted tomb at Geog-Tepe, near Urmia in North-western Persia. In that tomb, so it has been said, there was found an alabaster cylinder, carved in relief in a style which appears to be very similar to that of the seal-engraving of the later half of the Third Millennium in Mesopotamia (*loc. cit.*, Plate VIII).

⁷ *Comptes Rendus* (Otchet) of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission, 1894, page 78, figs. 110-111. Houses with similar domes constructed on a square plan are still in use in the Caucasus area (*Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, VIII (1900), Plate I, and *Moscow Archaeological Society, Caucasian Section, Proceedings*, V, photograph on page 81.).

⁸ In the Mesara.

⁹ Porter and Moss, *Bibliography IV*, page 260.

Qau tombs,¹ is paralleled by the plan of an Armenian rock-cut tomb.²

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

There was found at Toprakkaleh (near Van, in Turkish Armenia), an inscribed clay tablet,³ similar to the clay tablets inscribed with linear script B, found at Knossos.

GODS

A god, with the attribute of superhuman strength, called Tork⁴, seems to have been worshipped in early days in the area of Armenia. As has been pointed out, his name recalls that of the Cilician deity Tarku.⁴

It is possible that, in Armenia, there was worshipped in early times a god in the form of a fish. This being is supposed to have borne the name of Vishap.⁵ A god, who wore a cloak in the form of a fish skin, is said (by Berossus) to have introduced civilisation to Mesopotamia. This fish-cloaked god was named Oannes in late times. He may have been called Hani at an earlier date, and may have been the same as the god of writing.⁶

POTTERY

There are various parallels between the shapes and decoration of pottery vessels of the Caucasian-Armenian area, and those of vessels of Third Millennium date in the Aegean area and Cyprus.

¹ Wainwright, in a review of Petrie's *Antiochopolis* in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXIII. Both the Hepzefa tomb and the tombs at Qau may be earlier than the time of the XII Dynasty. See Wainwright, *loc. cit.*, and *Annales du Service*, XXVI, pp. 160 ff.

² Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, II, page 146. He quotes a similarly planned tomb by Jerusalem in the same book (Vol. II, Part II, pp. 632 ff).

³ Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, II, Part II, pp. 588 ff, and figure on page 588.

⁴ N. Mardirossian, in *Archiv Orientalni*, II, pp. 293 ff.

⁵ N. Y. Marr and J. I. Smirnov, *Vishapy* (1931). There are numerous stone figures of a fish in Russian Armenia, which Minns suggests (in *Antiquity*, 1937, pp. 122-123) "are some sort of water-charm, set up near springs in connexion with sacrifices to River-gods."

⁶ Hrozny, in *Archiv Orientalni*, Volume VII, pp. 1-3, and Hommel, in the same place, pp. 4-5. Berossus says that Oannes came up into Mesopotamia from the Erythraean sea.

These include:—

Vessels in the shape of animals.¹

The vase-shape in the form of a horizontal hollow ring, with a spout.²

The double vessel.³

The Kernos shape of vessel.⁴

The cylindrical pyxis with an external ledge for a lid.⁵

Vessels in the shape of birds.⁶

A type of spouted vessel common in Crete during Early Minoan I and II days.⁷

Incised white filled decoration.

The running spiral design.⁸

¹ J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase*, I, fig. 169, and *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, VIII, figs. 200 and 305. Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, page 114, no. 7 (Red Polished II ware). *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, Plate IV, no. 7. Schliemann, *Ilios*, figs. 333 ff. (Troy, II, 2. period.) Animal-shaped vases appear in Egypt during Pre-dynastic times—Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Plate XIV, no. 67, etc.

² J. de Morgan, *loc. cit.*, fig. 170. Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 152 (White Painted II ware). *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, Plate IV, no. 9. Xanthoudides, *The vaulted tombs of Mesara*, Plate XXIX, no. 4120. The ring-vase shape occurs in Egypt. See Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, Plate XXXVI, no. 84.

³ *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, Vol. VIII, fig. 303. *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, Plate IV, no. 2. There are numerous examples in Cyprus, the Aegean and Egypt, in which latter area they appear to be of Pre-dynastic date.

⁴ *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, Vol. VIII, fig. 304. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 75 ff. *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Plate VIII, no. 14. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*, III, page 54 (of a smooth and almost greasy pale grey surface"). Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 115.

⁵ *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, VIII, Plate XLII, no. 12 (of which the decoration is in horizontal bands of hatched triangles—not cross-hatched—incised and with the incisions filled with white). *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Plate IV, no. 1. Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.*, Plate XVIII, nos. 4195 and 4196 (Early Minoan I-II). Another Caucasian example is illustrated by J. de Morgan in *Mission au Caucase*, I, fig. 212 (now said to be in the Musee de Lyon).

⁶ *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, VIII, Plate XLII, no. 14. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, IV, fig. 124. Xanthoudides, *loc. cit.* Plate XXVIII, no. 4142. Egyptian examples are illustrated in *Hierakonpolis*, I, Plate XX, and Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric pottery*, Plate XVIII. Examples from Syria and from Elam, are illustrated by Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery*, I, Plates VIII and IX.

⁷ *Comptes rendus* of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission, 1896, page 107, fig. 404. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, figs. 77 and 78. Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, II, Plate V, no. 3.

⁸ *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, Plate XLII nos. 5 and 9. *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Plate XXXIV, no. 6 (in relief decoration). Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, II, Plate VI.

The "impressed triangle" style of decoration.¹

A rare type of flat, horizontal handle.²

Professor Frankfort, referring to an alleged "Danubian" invasion of the Aegean, said that "entirely conclusive evidence" of such an invasion is supplied by the appearance of the Cycladic "frying pans." These are decorated with incised running spirals, and "pressed-in triangles," and are equipped, sometimes, with a special type of handle.³ It may be observed that exact parallels to all three of those details are found in the Caucasian-Armenian area.⁴ Further, the naturalistically drawn fish motifs on one of the pans illustrated by Professor Frankfort⁵ are paralleled during the Third Millennium, only in incised and painted ware from Mesopotamia.

Professor Wace said that, with regard to the suggestion of a "Danubian" invasion:—"The spiral in Crete and the Aegean can hardly have been imported direct from the Danubian-Balkan area . . . Thessaly and the Black Earth region were not related, so far as the present evidence goes. . . ."⁶

It has been stated, but without the aid of illustrations, that there have been found in the Armenian area many examples of a "round pot, with a small handle and a large spout, and a round stand, open at both ends, and usually with long rectangular openings in the sides, like large slits."⁷ Whatever the round pot may be like, the stand seems likely to be more or less similar to stands known in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Pisidia.

The polychrome painted pottery discovered in Nakhichevan⁸

¹ J. de Morgan, *Mission au Caucase*, I, fig. 171. *Eph. Arch.*, 1899, Plate VIII nos. 1, 9, 12. Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, II, Plate VI. Goldman, *Etrusis*, fig. 124 (Early Helladic I). Early Minoan I, grey incised pottery, an unpublished sherd of which is exhibited in the Ashmolean Museum.

² *Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus*, VIII, Plate XCVII, no. 2. Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 115 (Celtic vessels no. 1). Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, II, Plate VI.

³ Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, Plate VI and pp. 49-50.

⁴ See above. The type of handle is that quoted in note 2 above.

⁵ Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, Plate VI, no. 2.

⁶ Professor Wace, in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, Volume IX, pp. 128-129.

⁷ Mr. E. C. Shedd, quoted in *The American Journal of Archaeology*, first series, Volume VI (1890), pp. 286 ff. The sites where these vessels were found were near Urmia, in the north-western corner of Persia.

⁸ *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, No. 4 (1937), pp. 249-263, and the Frontispiece (in colours), and figs. 4 and 5 of the article by A. Alekperov.

and elsewhere in the Trans-Caucasian area¹ appears to have analogies in Susa II ceramics and also in Alishar III and Middle Cycladic wares.

CONCLUSION

There is insufficient material at present available from Armenia and adjacent lands to make it possible to define closely the connections between that area, and other parts of the ancient world. But that there is some sort of connection with better known lands seems likely enough.

APPENDIX

THE HISSAR III PERIOD

The so-called Hissar III deposits have been dated by the excavator, Dr. Schmidt, to the period 1500-1200 B.C. This dating may be more than a thousand years too late, for the following reasons. There were found, in those deposits :

- I. Silver and other vessels² of the characteristic shape of the Vassiliki "tea-pot" vessel of the Early Minoan II period, in Crete.
- II. Alabaster "offering tables" as found in Egypt.³
- III. Grey pottery, often with "burnish decoration."⁴

Unless Tepe Hissar was, culturally speaking, totally unconnected with other parts of the Near East, such evidence suggests very strongly that the deposits of Hissar III belong to the Third Millennium. In those deposits there were found, as has been already stated above, three other different types of objects⁵ which may also indicate a date of the Third Millennium for the Hissar III period.⁶

¹ *Izvestiya* of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission (sometimes translated as "Bulletin"), 1909, figs. 46 ff.

² Schmidt, in *The (Philadelphia) Museum Journal*, Volume XXIII, Plate CXXIV. This shape is only known for a very limited period of the Aegean.

³ Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, Plates CXXXVI and CXXXVII. This shape of object is only found during the earlier part of the Third Millennium in Egypt.

⁴ Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 390 ff. Grey pottery with burnish decoration is characteristic of the beginning of the Bronze Age, especially in the Aegean-Anatolian area. It is rare (if it occurs at all) at any other time, in known lands.

⁵ It may be observed that a silver "tea-pot" of Vassiliki type, an alabaster "table of offerings" and a "copper" axe-adze were found together in one grave (no. DF. 19. x. 2), at Tepe Hissar.

⁶ This subject is more elaborately treated in an article to appear shortly in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*.

CHAPTER VII

ÆGEAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

2000—1600

The *Æ*gean, during the earlier part of the Second Millennium, was entered, or invaded by people whose material possessions, such as pottery, were both of several different types, and to some extent, were also unlike what had been previously in use there. It is suggested in this chapter that this movement of peoples was due to a general displacement or disturbance of peoples in Western Asia during the later part of the Third Millennium.

The next few pages will contain a recapitulation of some of the material from the areas concerned.

I. CRETE

Prehistoric Cretan civilisations of all periods have been fairly fully defined, and it is probably true to say that Crete, at the time of the Middle Minoan I—III periods, was characterised by civilisations more or less dissimilar from what were known both earlier in Crete, and contemporaneously in other parts of the *Æ*gean. However, there are indications in Crete of foreign intercourse at this time, mainly with Egypt and the East.¹

While light-on-dark decorated pottery had been common during the Early Minoan III period, and so continued during Middle Minoan I days, its use did not oust that of dark-on-light ware in Crete. In fact, during Middle Minoan I days, the dark-on-light style "was commonly used for all the larger coarser vessels."² At that time dark-on-light pottery was decorated both in a simple geometrical style, and also (on occasion) in the naturalistic style.³ Naturalism was also in use at the beginning of the pro-

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 197 ff.

² Seager, *Excavations on the Island of Pseira*, page 19.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, page 183, and IV, pp. 74 ff.

duction of the light-on-dark style which, at the time of Middle Minoan II, seems to have become more popular, and both abstract and very elaborate in manner. But the use of dark-on-light pottery was never abandoned, and was indeed revived during the next period.

II. MELOS

At about 2000 B.C., when there occurred the introduction of section 7 ware,¹ considerable ceramic changes appear at Phylakopi, as for example in the beginning of the use of dark matt paint and of curvilinear and naturalistic styles of decoration. The motifs of decoration at this time include birds, animals, humans, the guilloche, boat, cross and star.² A little later, there was yet another introduction—that of dark-on-light polychromy, the red colour being often very lustrous, while the black remained matt. In the ware of section 10, the use of decorative drawings of birds and monsters makes it possible to find a close parallel to the fabrics of Helladic Greece, of shortly before 1600 B.C., in Melos.

From the time of section 7 ware onwards, for a considerable time, flat bowls with in-curved rims were made.³ It is a characteristic of these bowls that the outer surface of the rim is decorated in the dark-on-light style, or in polychrome on a white ground. These bowls are paralleled in Anatolia, in Alishar III (Middle Anatolian) ware.

III. SOUTH GREECE

Everywhere in Greece, the beginning of the Middle Helladic period marks a break in cultural development.

Professor Persson has stated that, at Asine, during the Middle Helladic I period, "the most characteristic kinds of Early Helladic pottery suddenly die out" and that "only polished ware still occurs."⁴ He adds that matt-painted ware does not appear before Middle Helladic II, and that it appears to be brought from Anatolia.

¹ *Excavations at Phylakopi on Melos*, page 103.

² As above, Plates XI, XII, XIII.

³ As above, Plate XI, 7 and 8, and Plate XXXIII.

⁴ Persson, *Asine*, page 260.

The matt-painted pottery fabrics of the period in Greece have been divided into three classes, B 1, B 2 and B 3.¹ Of these, B 1, usually decorated in the geometric style, is stated to be parallel to section 7 pottery of Phylakopi, though it is not identical. B 2 ware (of better quality than B 1), often with curvilinear and spiraliform decoration, is equivalent to the "early Mycenaean ware" at Melos (section 9 ware). B 3 ware is decorated in polychrome, with motifs of birds and monsters,² and is represented in the VI Shaft Grave at Mycenæ. (M.M.III). It is related to section 10 ware at Phylakopi—"black and red ware."

At the time of the period discussed, several varieties of Minyan ware were made, as also varieties of patterned glaze-painted dark-on-light and light-on-dark fabrics, and other wares, in addition to matt-painted wares.

IV. NORTH GREECE

Dr. Goldman said that, at Eutresis, red and black burnished wares, as made during the preceding Early Helladic period, continued in use at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period, and she drew a parallel in this with Knossos.³ She also pointed out that at Eutresis and at Knossos, importations of incised "Cycladic" wares occur at the beginning of the Middle Helladic and Middle Minoan I.a. periods. She suggests that the change in civilisation in Greece at this time is due to the arrival of newcomers from Anatolia.

There is no great difference between the Middle Helladic civilisation at Eutresis and elsewhere in Greece.

V. ANATOLIA

A ware painted with matt dark-on-light geometric designs (not unlike B.I. Aegean ware), in which the pot-hook spiral appears occasionally, is known as Middle Anatolian, or Alishar III ware. Its place in the stratification of Alishar was not pre-

¹ Wace and Blegen, *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*, XXII, page 183.

² Paralleled in the carved ivories of Cyprus and Palestine.

³ Goldman, *Eutresis*, page 125.

cisely located by the excavators, and in consequence its dating is uncertain. However, one of the shapes of this ware is the flat bowl with incurving rim, the outer part of the rim being decorated, sometimes in polychrome,¹ as at Phylakopi. The red of this polychrome decoration is usually very lustrous, also as at Phylakopi. Thus it is possible that Middle Anatolian ware is to be dated to about the time of Middle Cycladic-Middle Helladic pottery. Such a parallel with Aegean ware is not, however, extended by other parallels, for neither the Aegean B 2 nor B 3 matt-painted styles, nor red nor black polished wares, nor incised ware of "Cycladic" type, occur during the Second Millennium in Anatolia. "Minyan" pottery appears in Troy V (end of the Third Millennium), but not inland, and there is no evidence of "Minyan" pottery in the interior of Anatolia, except at a very much earlier time. The secret of its manufacture might have been brought to Troy V by sea, but it does not seem likely to have come overland, either to Troy or to the Aegean.²

VI. CYPRUS

Though many types of ware of this period in the Aegean are not paralleled in Anatolia, similar fabrics do occur in Cyprus. For example, matt-painted dark-on-light,³ and polychrome-decorated⁴ wares of various types are found there. So also is light-on-dark ware,⁵ and some of the shapes of the Aegean B.I matt-painted class⁶ are paralleled there. "Minyan" pottery is, however, not found there.

¹ Osten, *The Alishar Huyuk*, 1928-1929, fig. 253 and Plate V.

² Professor Childe thought that it evolved as a natural ceramic development in the Aegean, that is, equally in Greece and at Troy, without either area being in a state of "one sided dependence" on the other (*J.H.S.*, XXXV, p. 207). However, the discovery of Minyan pottery at Nineveh complicates the problem, if one does not allow for the possibility of external influences.

³ "White painted V ware" and "White slip ware." See *B. M. Catalogue of Vases*, I, Part 2, c. 735.

⁴ "Foreign pottery, painted ware." See *B. M. Catalogue of Vases*, I, Part 2, C. 732, 733, 734.

⁵ *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, I, Plate II, and the class called "Red on black ware."

⁶ Compare Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, page 195, jug 1, with Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 645. Also Gjerstad, *loc. cit.*, page 196, no. 7, with Blegen *Korakou*, fig. 28.

The matt-painted wares of Cyprus are paralleled at Ras Shamra in Syria,¹ in Palestine² and in Egypt.³ The "angled jar" shape, well known in Syria and Mesopotamia, is also found in Cyprus.

VII. SYRIA

Polychrome matt-painted pottery has been found in the Habur district,⁴ at Alalakh,⁵ appearing after 1800, and at Ras Shamra,⁶ made in shapes similar to the "angled jars" well known in Mesopotamia⁷ and Elam. This ware shews, both in Syria and in Mesopotamia, geometric and naturalistic modes of decoration, the motifs including animals, birds, humans, plants and the star. One vessel of this type was found in a tomb at Ras Shamra, in which also was found a shard of M.M. II ware.⁸

In Syria and in Cilicia, examples of Aegean B.II type pottery have been found.⁹ At Malatia, further north, examples of light-on-dark ware have also been found.¹⁰ This pottery is similar to light-on-dark Aegean ware of before 2000 B.C., and is decorated with the spiral motif, amongst others.

At Alalakh pottery with incised decoration, somewhat reminiscent of Early Cycladic pottery, was found in levels of about the middle of the Second Millennium.¹¹ This ware may perhaps be

¹ *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 30, 1939, page 975, bottom left.

² *Heartley, The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, VIII. See Dr. Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, page 9. Similarly decorated wares are dated at Megiddo to 1650-1450 (Strata X-IX).

³ See Frankfort, *Studies*, II, Plate 13.

⁴ By M. E. L. Mallowan. *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 15, 1938, pp. 698-99.

⁵ In Alalakh Strata, VI and VII, dated by Dr. Sidney Smith in *Alalakh and Chronology*, to c. 1780-c. 1595. See *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 2, 1939, page 833.

⁶ *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 30, 1939, page 975. It is of post-XII Dynasty date.

⁷ *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 3, 1938, pp. 1027-1028. Harden in *Iraq*, I, pp. 30 ff. Similar ware appears in Palestine, for which see *Illustrated London News*, June 20, 1936, page 1110, fig. 12, and Oct. 16, 1937, page 684, and Duncan, *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery*.

⁸ *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 20, 1937, fig. 18.

⁹ By T. Burton-Brown. Sherds are in the Ashmolean Museum.

¹⁰ As note 6. See Chapter II and *L.A.A.A.*, XX, "Anatolian Relations with the Aegean before 2400 B.C."

¹¹ *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 2, 1939, page 833, fig. 6. Level, V., in which this ware was found, is dated by Dr. Sidney Smith to about 1500 B.C.

the late descendant of a long-established ceramic tradition, native in that area and not, as has been suggested, an importation. It also is decorated with spiraliform motifs.

VIII. IRAQ

At Nineveh polychrome ware is not known.¹ But towards the end of the Nineveh IV period there came to Nineveh light-on-dark and dark-on-light pottery shewing motifs well known in the Aegean, and also "Minyan" pottery and red-polished ware.² At a later date, dark-on-light matt-painted ware (Nineveh V ware) was introduced there.

Further south, in Babylonia, polychrome decorated ware is not rare. It occurs both very early at Jemdet Nasr, and also later, the characteristic shape being the "angled jar," which, as an unpainted vessel, is well known at Kish in the "Y" and "A" periods.³ Both geometric and naturalistic styles of decoration are used on this later ware (unlike the polychrome ware of Jemdet Nasr, on which the naturalistic style does not appear), and the motifs include animals, birds, humans and plant forms.⁴

IX. EGYPT

Professor Frankfort has discussed the presence of matt-painted polychrome and monochrome vessels during the earlier part of the Second Millennium in Egypt. These vessels, which display both rectilinear and naturalistic styles of decoration, including the motif of birds, are assigned by him to the "Hyksos" people, and stated to be from a "North Syrian" centre.⁵ Dr. Sidney Smith suggests the date of about 1700-1580 B.C., for such wares, and points out the parallels with Ras Shamra and Alalakh fabrics.⁶

¹ It does occur at Assur, Frankfort, *Studies*, I, pp. 69 ff.

² See Chapters II and III.

³ Harden, in *Iraq*, I, pp. 30 ff. In Chapter IV it is suggested that the Kish "A" period is of about 2500 B.C.

⁴ *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 6, 1937, and Dec. 3, 1938, pp. 1027-1028.

⁵ Frankfort, *Studies*, II, page 167.

⁶ Dr. Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*.

X. ELAM

The Susa II period is characterised by the Susa II polychrome ware, in which the "angled jar" shape is common.¹ Contemporary with that ware appears dark-on-light matt-painted pottery,² and red-polished ware.³ The painted ware is decorated in both the geometrical and naturalistic styles, and the motifs include various types of cross,⁴ the star,⁵ rows of animals and birds, and fish.

If the chronological scheme for the Near East shown on pages 58 and 59 were extended later in date, it would shew the Susa II polychrome pottery dated by stratification to about 2200 B.C., or perhaps a little earlier.

COMMENT ON THE EVIDENCE DISCUSSED ABOVE

The first impression that one gets from studying the pottery of the period is that there was an extraordinary diversity in the productions of mankind in the Near East. There seem to be nearly as many individual styles of pottery in the Aegean as there very well could be, considering how small an area it is. Cyprus and Syria also shew considerable complexity. But there is an underlying current which simplifies the problem. For in all the areas of the Near East, during this period, there appeared people who made matt-painted pottery fabrics. This is of fundamental importance, and it is suggested that it is from this, and not from the diversity of productions of the age, that any true understanding of the history of that time will be obtained.

By the end of the Third, and beginning of the Second Millennium, there were people who decorated their pots in certain special ways, in many parts of the Near East. One can find matt-painted pots decorated with drawings of birds, from Elam to Mycenæ, all dated to within a few centuries. One can also find matt-painted geometrically decorated pottery with unusual types of motifs, and the technique of matt polychrome colours, in equally widely

¹ *Délégation en Perse*, VIII, figs. 266 and 282-286 and Plate VII. Also Vol. XIII, Plate XXV.

² As above, XII, Plate V, and XIII, Plate XXX. 7, and Plate XXXI.

³ As above, XIII, Plate XXV.

⁴ As above, VIII, fig. 175.

⁵ As above, VIII, fig. 178.

separated areas. To what extent the makers of those fabrics can be sub divided into groups is still a matter for conjecture. But one may, perhaps, suggest that there were two main divisions of humanity in the Near East during the period under review—those who used matt-painted geometrically decorated pottery, and those who used naturalistic designs, also matt-painted. For the people who decorated their pottery with drawings of birds, animals and the like, surely thought in a way different from that of those who decorated their wares with geometric designs. It can, perhaps, be added that the other types of pottery found at this period may also represent various peoples. For example, the grey "Minyan" pottery style known best in mainland Greece could easily be the sign of a particular people. The same might be true of the spiral motif, and even of incised "Cycladic" pottery.

Matt-painted ware, "Minyan" ware, incised "Cycladic" ware and other fabrics appear at the beginning of the Middle Helladic/Middle Cycladic period in the *Æ*gean. Some at least of them are usually supposed to be fabrics introduced from Anatolia, though there is very little support for such a proposal. It is most unlikely that they are of purely local origin, since they are of new types, previously unparalleled in the *Æ*gean, except the "Cycladic" ware, which had, however, not been made for centuries there. All those fabrics are closely similar to ceramics in more easterly areas at about that date. One possible explanation of the material mentioned above is that the period under consideration was one when Asiatics—mostly not from Anatolia—entered the *Æ*gean, and that such styles of pottery as "Minyan" and "Cycladic" incised, as well as the use of the spiral motif, were brought as part of the same movement. Although one cannot be certain on such a matter at present (we do not yet know to what extent changes may be expected in the production of a given class of pottery, when its makers move from one area to another), it is suggested that that is what did, in fact, occur.

CONCLUSION

Towards the close of the Third Millennium there was a large-scale movement of peoples in Western Asia. This movement is

characterised by the appearance of matt-painted pottery of various types, as well as a variety of other fabrics, less widely spread.

So far as known areas are concerned, the makers of those wares arrived first at Susa in Elam, and in Babylonia. Some of them spread to Anatolia and others went to Cyprus, whence they sailed along the coast of Asia Minor to the *Æ*gean. They arrived in Crete at about the time of the beginning of the Middle Minoan epoch, but they did not succeed there in establishing their type of civilisation. In Melos, however, they rapidly dominated the island, and much the same is true of Greece. In many parts of the *Æ*gean they arrived from the East accompanied by bands of other peoples, who had their own distinctive styles of pottery, such as grey "Minyan" pottery, incised fabrics and the use of the spiral motif. As time passed, immigration to the *Æ*gean continued, and related peoples made their way south to Egypt, perhaps as part of the "Hyksos" peoples. And so the situation remained until about 1600 B.C.

POSTSCRIPT

The essays of this book deal with facts, some of which I have tried to arrange chronologically. If the reading of the facts given in these pages is correct, or approximately so, then it is likely that we would do wrong not to give great importance to the "international" aspect of prehistory. And if this is so, we must accept the fact that we do not know yet very much about how to use prehistoric evidence. For example, if, as is suggested in this book, the Early Bronze Age ceramics of Cyprus are really connected with those of the *Æ*gean, then archaeologists have certainly been talking, in the past, about the meaning of ceramic evidence from a prejudiced point of view. And this is also true of other things than pottery.

I believe myself that history is a unity, and that the historian should not be bound by matters of space. This is a useful theory to hold, since it means that check and counter-check can easily be found for one's theories. And thereby it should be difficult to go badly astray in one's interpretation of events. But of all things to avoid, personal opinion is the worst, and the most misleading. There has been a great deal of expression of personal opinion in the past, and far too little solid fitting together of facts, in the pursuit of the creation of a framework of knowledge, cemented by an understanding of chronology. Until that is done, for all periods of Ancient History, on the widest possible scale and based on fact, we shall not be able to make any very considerable progress.

The study of Ancient History tells us about human activity in a series of "primitive" states of civilisation. This is interesting and even of value. But it can tell us other things of value, some of which are also interesting. For example, it can teach us how to use the evidences of human activity, or at least it will be able to do so, when we know rather more on that subject. And it tells us, too, that some of the most important elements in the

understanding of the development of man are the inventions, the new fashions, which spread from time to time over huge areas. It is, I think, a valuable lesson that ideas, which lie below the surface of activity, play a large part within the chronological scaffolding which so many people have in the past been content to call history. And it is an incentive to the study of Ancient History that this is most easily realised therein, for it is in the comparative simplicity of early days, far enough away for personal emotions not to be violently aroused, that there can, perhaps, be found the greatest chance for dispassionate observation, unhindered by national or racial prejudice.

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